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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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23 May 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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EAST BLOC GOVERNMENT PRUDISHNESS FACES PRIVATE PRURIENCE

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 Mar 84 p 19

[Article by Karl Stipsicz: "Since It's Not Supposed to Exist..."]

[Text] If a Hungarian or Czech customs official should inquire, with a wink, about bananas during entry procedures, then he is not interested in tropical fruit for his children. The upright guardians of the Iron Curtain describe with this code word another exotic product: pornography.

This strange code name does not exist by chance; pornographic literature in the CEMA states is as rare as the much sought-after banana. Only in Hungary, where a topless girl can smile on front pages, are there bananas to be had from time to time. Up to now, however, the science of economics has yet to consider this remarkable connection between tropical fruit and naked girls.

Unlike sex-sated consumers in the West, who can take relevant literature or video films home, the inhabitants of the workers' and farmers' paradises still thirst for glossy nudes. Only Hungarian men have it good; since autumn of last year, they can, under the pretext of art appreciation, revel in the love play of Maria Schneider and Marlon Brando in "Last Tango." Meanwhile, Romanian and Polish machos pay top prices for single pages from the conventional PLAYBOY.

Last year the wave of erotic sex rose so high that the Polish episcopate felt obliged before the second papal visit to admonish the unchaste flock about pornography, as well as intimate extramarital relations and abortion. The appeal by the men of God was--at least in part--obeyed: at 723,000 births, the growth rate of the Polish population in 1983 reached its highest point since 1959.

Official socialist prudery has a long tradition in East Europe. The former seminarian Josef Stalin mercilessly prescribed to his subjects the monastic ideals of poverty and chastity. That Stalin's successors in the men's club of East European Communist Party heads were not interested in sex either goes without saying. The average age of the gentlemen is 69.

Naturally, the high functionaries can refer to the literature for their policy. "Prostitution is based on private property, and it goes with it," wrote Friedrich Engels erroneously.

However, socialism as it really exists is also in this respect different from theory. West European businessmen and tourists know the elegant ladies who so indiscreetly hang around the lobbies and bars of large East European hotels --Romanian sex bombs make their approaches in the elevator. In Prague and Warsaw, arrangements concerning meetings for international link-ups are made by hotel porters and bartenders--for a small commission, of course.

The biggest take, however, is made at Rakoczi Square in the eighth district of Budapest by exceedingly rich pimps, mostly members of respected gypsy clans, who display their great love of splendor in Mercedes and lately in Ford Sierras as well. Their seductive female business partners even have--an exception in the East Bloc--regular medical checkups.

Female comrades in East Europe who are all too versed in languages and all too willing are almost always agents of the local secret service. The 1982 Bonn Report on the Protection of the Constitution warned that at the Hotel Akron in Prague and the National in Moscow, microphones, cameras and special mirrors are built in, in order to surprise unfaithful Western citizens in word or in deed--but at any rate in flagranti.

But those caught do not always blush when compromising photographs are produced. One English gentleman, selected for "cooperation" by an East European agent, disarmed his tough blackmailer with two sentences: "These are really nice photographs. Couldn't I have some copies for my friends?"

That market forces win out again and again in socialism as well is demonstrated by the ladies at the Hotel Intercontinental, at Victory Square in Warsaw. Because businessmen from West Germany are becoming more rare, the beauties of the night had to adjust their previous rate of \$100 to falling demand. Their colleagues at the Rossiya movie house at Pushkin Square in Moscow, who up to now demanded similar amounts, are not doing any better.

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SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIAL SCIENCE COMMISSION CONVENES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 84 pp 1-2

[Article: "The Important Role of Social Sciences"]

[Text] The constituent meeting of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Social Science Commission convened in Prague Tuesday [20 March]. Academician Zdenek Snitil, CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences] and chairman of the commission's Czechoslovak section, welcomed Miloslav Dockal, department head of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives of our political and public life. He also welcomed Academician Petr Fedoseev, vice chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Igor Cherkasov, councillor of the USSR Embassy in Czechoslovakia. The meeting was also attended by a Soviet delegation headed by Academician Sergey Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the commission's Soviet section.

The agenda of the 3-day meeting included current questions regarding the social sciences and the basic directions of the commission's activity, with emphasis on accelerating the building and improving of a developed socialist society, discussion of the statutes of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Social Science Commission, and the creation of sections for specific scientific fields. Also on the agenda are theoretical questions related to the transition of a socialist economy to the path of intensive development and coordination of participation by theoretical workers of the two countries in activities to be scheduled on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

Academician Snitil emphasized in his opening address the important role that Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation plays in the development of our country and in progress in all areas of scientific life. He stressed the results of this cooperation in the social sciences; on behalf of party, academic and university workers engaged in the social sciences and on behalf of scientists employed by institutes of individual ministries, he expressed their determination to work toward further increases in our contribution to solving the challenging tasks involved in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

He pointed out the significance of the social sciences in solving key questions involved in the transition toward intensive development of the economy, intensification of all aspects of the socioeconomic development of society, and especially of improving the social quality of social relations as well as problems related to the conditions and paths of the multifaceted development of socialist

man. In this connection he states that the present stage of the development of socialism and the significance of the growth of the subjective factor are increasing the mediating role of the social sciences in the development of science in its cognitive as well as practical functions. He underscored the importance of the theoretical-methodological base of scientific research, better cooperation with social practice, and consistent application of complex interdisciplinary approaches.

He stated that the main mission of the newly constituted commission must be seen in the fact that it will try to concentrate the multifaceted and complex cooperation of the potentials of the social sciences in the two countries on solving the most current questions of building and improving a developed society in the CSSR and the USSR within an international context. In conclusion, Academician Snitil expressed his belief that the work of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission will greatly contribute to the creation of a scientifically solid base for study and the theoretical support as well as further improvement of mutual cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Academician Fedoseev evaluated the results of cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Soviet scientists. In this connection he stated that at the present time we are starting to apply a new form of closer coordination of research and joint study of problems. He emphasized the growing role of science as a basis for managing the social processes and its role in the elaboration of long-term prognoses for the development of society.

He pointed out the significance of the June meeting of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with ideological questions, which emphasized the need to recognize the growing role of the social sciences and increase demands on social science research from the point of view of improving socialism in the USSR. He underscored the importance of better scientific and research work for the further realization of the economic, social and cultural policy of CPSU and for the clarification of important questions of international relations, especially the struggle for peace and social progress in the world.

The need to intensify the cooperation of Czechoslovak and Soviet scientists in solving the problems of further development in the two countries was also emphasized by Academician Tikhvinskiy. He spoke about the significance of creating a platform for the scientific discussion of basic theoretical questions dealing with the development of scientific disciplines and the solution of the needs of socialist practice.

Petr Fedoseev and Sergey Tikhvinskiy were received the same day by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The latter informed the Soviet guests about the development and direction of the social sciences after the 16th CPCZ Congress and about the main tasks of the state research plan. At the same time, the three men examined the possibilities of further improving mutual cooperation in the entire field of social sciences.

This meeting was attended by Misoslav Dockal and Zdenek Snitil. Also present was Marat Kuznetsov, councilor-minister of the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia.

HUNGARIAN VIEWS ON ORIGIN OF ROMANIAN PLACE NAMES REFUTED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Apr 84 pp 33-34

[Article by Dr Emil Vrabie, university professor]

[Text] For thousands of years the Romanian people, created united on the land of ancient Dacia, have been living continually in its hearth of ethnic origin. But the continuity of residence and stability do not necessarily mean fixism. Carried by a number of pursuits (among which the shepherds' moving of their flocks has held a main spot), but in particular caused by social exploitation (which, in Transylvania, was also doubled by national oppression), the inhabitants of this principality sought and found their shelter across the Carpathians, with those who were the same people as they. Such population movements--isolated inhabitants or in larger groups, which sometimes comprised an entire village community--were numerous in the Romanian Middle Ages. The newcomers were named according to the country they came from: "Ungureni;" that is, "Romanians originally from Transylvania, which is under Hungarian rule." So, among many other things, added to the actual linguistic proof of the Romanians' many centuries of shifts from Transylvania is something which is toponymic, systematically passed over in silence by some foreign historians, who through pseudo-scientific arguments try to dispute the presence in Muntenia and Moldavia of a large number of rural settlements whose name as its basis has the ethnonym "Ungurean."*

* Unable to conjure away the fact that the Romanians were the preponderant population of Transylvania in ratio to all other nationalities put together, some foreign authors continue to repeat in unilateral formulations that the numerical predominance of the "Wallachians" in the intracarpathian arc is due to late infiltrations from Muntenia and Moldavia. Among those reviving this "thesis" is Gy. Zathureczky in his work "Transylvania, Citadel of the West," published by University of Florida publishers in 1964; Andrew Haraszti (from Hamilton, Canada) in his work "Origin of the Romanians"; Arpad Balog (author of a work presumptuously entitled "Histoire Demythifiee de la Roumanie," which appeared in Paris in 1979); and, more recently, the person signing himself with the pseudonym of Andre DuNay in an article published in the collection entitled "Transylvania and the Theory of Daco-Roman-Rumanian Continuity." Referring to the latter "scholar," the academician Al. Rosetti stressed in "The 'Roman Nature' of the Romanian Language" (the volume entitled "Travelers and Portraits," Bucharest, 1983, pp 311-312), "the lack of evidence characterizes works of this type. While a simple common-sense judgment based on the experience of historic events always proves the groundlessness of these theses." (author's note)

Even 40 years ago, Marra N. Popp published a broad and documented study on the Ungureni Romanians who left Transylvania and, later, Constantin C. Giurescu described in detail a Russian map dating from 1835, with many names of villages and hamlets from Muntenia and Moldavia, which shows the sure Transylvanian origin of their inhabitants ("The Romanian Principalities at the Start of the 19th Century," Bucharest, 1957).

On the basis of diverse sources (historical, demographic, administrative), I proceeded to draw up minimum evidence about the locations named "Ungureni" or those which contain the word "Ungureni" as in Maneci-Ungureni. I found 38 such settlements, although their number in the ciscarpathian territories certainly was even greater in the past. I still have not succeeded in locating some of these types of names exactly ("Ungurenii lui Ciucurencu" in the old county of Hirlau, an "Ungureni" on the Motru and so forth); others have been erased or changed, sometimes due to subjective socio-linguistic considerations, as in the case of the village of "Vladestii de Sus" (with the correlative being the neighboring "Vladestii-Paminteni" in Arges County), where the addition of "de Sus," which means "Ungureni," has disappeared (C. C. Giurescu, op. cit., p 113). The proven age of the settlements of "Ungureni" is sometimes considerable: the year 1510 is indicated for "Ungurenii" in the old county of Romanati (now Dolj).

The number of residents from the pair villages generally is larger when it is a matter of "Paminteni," but there also are cases where the "Ungurenii" are more numerous: in 1912, for example, the village of "Bratasanca-Paminteni" (Prahova County), had 389 residents, while "Bratasanca-Ungureni" had 446. It is the same in "Novaci-Straini" (= "Ungureni") compared with "Novaci-Paminteni": 969 compared with 730. According to statistics from 1815, in Muntenia alone there were 4,056 families of "Ungureni." It is easy to understand that actually their number rises much higher, both south and east of the Carpathians, even if only for the reason that not all those coming from across the mountains succeeded in establishing separate settlements but fit in bigger or smaller groups into villages of natives already established and having their own name.

The case of the toponyms of "Ungureni" offers the objective reader enough data to be able to put him in a situation of evaluating for himself how much truth and how much probity are contained in the last four words (which we shall underline) in a passage taken from the work of Arpad Balog, quoted at the beginning. As the journalist from Paris conclusively said, in referring to the population movements from Muntenia toward Transylvania: "So the Carpathians never were a serious obstacle for the Romans' invasion of Transylvania. The Romanian historians," he continues, "not only themselves recognize this last fact but they also explain it for us. But," A. Balog writes further, "when they," (that is, the Romanian historians) "say 'from one part to another'" (of the Carpathians,) "this can only be understood as meaning from Muntenia and Moldavia toward Transylvania, but not also the reverse" ("mais pas inversement," p 177). ["but not also the reverse" are the underlined words the author refers to]. The existence of many subcarpathian toponyms of "Ungureni" is a severe retort to this indisputable "but not also the reverse," and indirectly it is an illustration of the poor competence and scientific responsibility of certain authors and circles abroad who treat problems of the history of the Romanians.

DIRECTIVE REGULATING UNIVERSITY STUDIES AT HOME, ABROAD: PART II

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 7 Feb 84 pp 133-142

[Directive No 9 of the Ministry of Public Education Concerning the Admission of Students to Institutions of Higher Learning in Bulgaria and the Granting of Permission for Bulgarian Citizens to Study in Institutions of Higher Learning Abroad; for Part I see JPRS-EPS-84-045 of 5 April 1984]

[Text]

Appendix No 2 to Articles 6, 7, 20 and 50

List of Special Subjects from a Secondary Education Diploma
Which Are Employed in Forming the Number of Points for the
Right to Apply and the Number of Competitive Points for Bulgarian
and Foreign Citizens Who Have Completed Soviet Secondary Schools
in Applying for Certain Specialties

Code	Specialty	Grades in Special Subjects from Diploma for Completed Secondary Education Used in Forming Number of Points for Applying and Number of Competitive Points	
		First Subject	Second Subject
1	2	3	4
19.4.	German Philology	German language	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature
19.5.	English Philology	English language	
19.6.	French Philology	French language	
19.7.	Italian Philology	Italian language	
19.8.	Spanish Philology	Spanish language	
19.9.	Romanian Philology	Studied in secondary school	
19.10.	Hungarian Philology	Basic Western language	
19.12.	Arabic Philology		
19.13.	Turkology		
19.14.	Indology		
19.11.	Classic Philology	Ancient Greek and Latin or Western language studied in secondary school	

1	2	3	4
19.1.	Bulgarian Language and Literature	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature	USSR history
20.1.	History		
21.1.	Philosophy		
21.2.	Sociology	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature	USSR history
21.3.	Psychology		
22.1.	Law		
29.1.	Pedagogics		
29.3.	Preschool Pedagogics		
29.4.	Primary School Pedagogics	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature	Physics
29.5.	Remedial Teaching		
29.6.	Pedagogics of Labor-Polytechnical Training		
29.8.	Pedagogics of Fine Arts	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature	USSR history (only for determining number of points for right to apply)
29.10.	Physical Education	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature	--
21.4.	Journalism	USSR history	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian literature (only for determining number of points for right to apply)
28.1.	Geography	USSR geography	USSR history
30.1.	History and Geography	USSR history	USSR geography
19.2.	Russian Philology	Russian literature	Russian language
19.3.	Slavic Philology		
30.2.	Bulgarian Language and Russian Language	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian language	Western language
30.3.	Bulgarian Language and selected Western Language		
30.4.	Russian Language and selected Western Language		
14.1.	Political Economy	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian language	Mathematics
14.2.	Socioeconomic Planning		
14.3.	Accounting and Control		
14.4.	Finances and Credit		
14.5.	Socioeconomic Information		
14.6.	Economics and Organization of Labor		

1	2	3	4
14.7.	Economics and Management of Industry	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian language	Mathematics
14.8.	Economics and Management of Construction		
14.9.	Economics and Management of Agriculture		
14.10.	Economics and Management of Transport		
14.11.	Economics and Management of Trade		
14.12.	Merchandising		
15.1.	International Economic Relations	Arithmetic average of grades in Russian and Russian language	Mathematics
15.2.	International Tourism		Social sciences
15.3.	International Relations		

Appendix No 3 for Articles, 6, 7, 20 and 50

List of Special Subjects from Secondary Education Diploma Which Are Employed in Forming the Number of Points for the Right to Apply and the Competitive Number of Points for Bulgarian and Foreign Citizens Who Have Completed Non-Bulgarian and Non-Soviet Secondary Schools in Applying for Certain Specialties

Code	Specialty	Grades in Special Subjects from Diploma for Completed Secondary Education Used in Forming Number of Points for Applying and Number of Competitive Points	
		First Subject	Second Subject
1	2	3	4
19.4.	German Philology	German language	Studied Western language aside from first special subject given in Column 3. If a second Western language has not been studied, the grade in the first special subject is doubled.
19.5.	English Philology	English language	
19.6.	French Philology	French language	
19.7.	Italian Philology	Italian language	
19.8.	Spanish Philology	Spanish language	
19.9.	Romanian Philology	Studied in secondary school	
19.10.	Hungarian Philology	Basic Western language	
19.12.	Arabic Philology		
19.13.	Turkology		
19.14.	Hindology		

1	2	3	4
19.11.	Classic Philology	Ancient Greek and Latin or Western language studied in secondary school	History grade from diploma
19.1.	Bulgarian Language and Literature	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	
20.1.	History		
21.1.	Philosophy		
21.2.	Sociology		
21.3.	Psychology		
21.4.	Law		
29.1.	Pedagogics		
29.3.	Preschool Pedagogics		
29.4.	Primary School Pedagogics		
29.5.	Remedial Teaching		
29.6.	Pedagogics of Labor-Polytechnical Training	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	Physics
29.8.	Pedagogics of Fine Arts	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	History (only for setting number of points for right to apply)
29.10.	Physical Education	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	--
21.4.	Journalism	History	Basic Western language (only for setting number of points for right to apply)
28.1.	Geography	Geography	History
30.1.	History and Geography	History	Geography
19.2.	Russian Philology	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	Russian (if studied) or studied second Western language in addition to first special subject given in Column 3. If a second Western language has not been studied, the grade in the first special subject is doubled.
19.3.	Slavic Philology		
30.2.	Bulgarian Language and Russian Language		
30.3.	Bulgarian Language and selected Western Language	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	
30.4.	Russian Language and selected Western Language		
14.1.	Political Economy	Basic Western language studied in secondary school	Mathematics
14.2.	Socioeconomic Planning		
14.3.	Accounting and Control		
14.4.	Finances and Credit		
14.5.	Socioeconomic Information		
14.6.	Economics and Organization of Labor		

1	2	3	4
14.7.	Economics and Management of Industry		
14.8.	Economics and Management of Construction		
14.9.	Economics and Management of Agriculture		
14.10.	Economics and Management of Transport		
14.11.	Economics and Management of Trade		
14.12.	Merchandising		
15.1.	International Economic Relations	Basic Western language studied in secondary school History	Mathematics
15.2.	International Tourism		
15.3.	International Relations		

Appendix No 4 for Articles 13, 16 and 50

List of Special Subjects for Which Competitive Exams
Are To Be Taken in Applying for Certain Specialties by
Bulgarian Citizens Who Have Completed Soviet Secondary Schools

Code	Specialty	Special subjects for which competitive exams are to be taken (candidate can choose one of designated possibilities for taking exams in first and second special subject; selected special subjects are to be indicated without fail in standard requests; changes in stated desires are not permitted at time of competitive exams)	
		First Subject	Second Subject
1	2	3	4
19.2.	Russian Philology	Russian language	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature
19.3.	Slavic Philology	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature	Russian language
19.4.	German Philology	German language	Bulgarian language and literature;
19.5.	English Philology	English language	Russian and Soviet literature
19.6.	French Philology	French language	
19.7.	Italian Philology	Italian language	

1	2	3	4
19.8.	Spanish Philology	Spanish language	
19.9.	Romanian Philology	French language; Italian language; Spanish language; English language; German language	
19.10.	Hungarian Philology	German language;	
19.12.	Arabic Philology	English language;	
19.13.	Turkology	French language;	
19.14.	Indology	Italian language; Spanish language	
19.11.	Classic Philologies	Comprehensive exam in Ancient Greek and Latin	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature
20.1.	History	History of Bulgaria; History of USSR	
21.1.	Philosophy		
21.2.	Sociology	History of Bulgaria;	
21.3.	Psychology	History of USSR	
21.4.	Journalism	Journalism (written and oral exam)	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature
22.1.	Law	History of Bulgaria; History of USSR	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature
28.1.	Geography	Geography of Bulgaria; Geography of USSR	History of Bulgaria; History of USSR
14.1.	Political Economy	Geography of Bulgaria;	--
14.3.	Accounting and Control	Geography of USSR	
14.5.	Finances and Credit		
14.6.	Economics and Organi- zation of Tourism		
14.12.	Merchandising	Geography of Bulgaria;	--
15.2.	International Tourism	Geography of USSR	German language; English language; French language

Appendix No 5 for Articles 13, 16 and 50

List of Special Subjects for Which Competitive Exams Can Be Taken
in Applying for Certain Specialties by Bulgarian Citizens Who Have
Completed Non-Bulgarian and Non-Soviet Secondary Schools

Code	Specialty	Special subjects for which competitive exams are to be taken (candidate can choose one of designated possibilities for taking exams in first and second special subject; selected special subjects are to be indicated without fail in standard requests; changes in stated desires are not permitted at time of competitive exams)	
		First Subject	Second Subject
1	2	3	4
19.2.	Russian Philology	Russian language	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature
19.3.	Slavic Philology	Bulgarian language and literature; Russian and Soviet literature	Russian language
19.4.	German Philology	German language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in German
19.5.	English Philology	English language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in English
19.6.	French Philology	French language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in French
19.7.	Italian Philology	Italian language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in Italian
19.8.	Spanish Philology	Spanish language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in Spanish
19.9.	Romanian Philology	French language; Italian language; Spanish language; English language; German language	Bulgarian language and literature; oral exam in French, Italian Spanish, English and German

1	2	3	4
19.10.	Hungarian Philology	German language;	Bulgarian language and literature;
		English language;	oral exam in German, English,
		French language;	French,
		Italian language;	Italian or
		German language	German
19.11.	Classic Philology	Comprehensive exam in Ancient Greek and Latin	Bulgarian language and literature;
			written exam in German, English, French, Italian or Spanish
19.12.	Arabic Philology	German language;	Bulgarian language and literature;
		English language;	oral exam in German, English,
		French language;	French,
		Italian language;	Italian or
		Spanish language	Spanish
19.13.	Turkology	German language;	Spanish language
		English language;	
		French language;	
		Italian language;	
		Spanish language	
19.14.	Indology	German language;	
		English language;	
		French language;	
		Italian language;	
		Spanish language	
20.1.	History	History of Bulgaria; general history	Bulgarian history and literature; written exam in German, English, French, Italian or Spanish
21.1.	Philosophy		
21.2.	Sociology		
21.3.	Psychology		
21.4.	Journalism	Journalism (written and oral exam)	
22.1.	Law	History of Bulgaria; general history	
28.1.	Geography	Geography of Bulgaria; general geography	History of Bulgaria; general history
14.1.	Political Economy	Geography of Bulgaria; general geography	--
14.3.	Accounting and Control		
14.4.	Finances and Credit		
14.6.	Economics and Organization of Labor	Geography of Bulgaria; general geography	--
14.12.	Merchandising		
15.2.	International Tourism		German language; English language; French language

Appendix No 6 for Articles 13 and 14

Schedule for Holding of Student Applicant Exams
at Institutions of Higher Learning [VUZ]

Date	Subject and VUZ	Starting Hour
1	2	3
18 July (Wed)	Spanish language--for Kl. Okhridski SU [Sofia University]	0800
19 July (Thu)	Mathematics--for K. Marx VII, D. Blagoev VINS, D. A. Tsenov VFSI	0800
	Biology--for Stara Zagora VIZVM, K. Kolarov VSI	0800
	Italian language--for Kl. Okhridski SU	0800
20 July (Fri)	Mathematics--for Kl. Okhridski SU, P. Khilendarskiy PU [Plovdiv University], Shumen VPI, V. I. Lenin VMEI, Varna VMEI, Gabrovo VMEI, Ruse VTU, Sofia VIAS, Sofia VLTI, Sofia VMGI, Sofia VKhTI and Plovdiv VIKhVP	0800
21 July (Sat)	Bulgarian language and literature--for Kl. Okhridski SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, P. Khilendarski PU, Shumen VPI, Blagoevgrad VPI	0800
	Biology--for Medical Academy	0800
22 July (Sun)	Chemistry--for Kl. Okhridski SU, P. Khilendarski PU, Sofia VKhTI, Burgas VKhTI and Plovdiv VIKhVP	0800
	Drawing--Part I--for Kiril i Metodiy VTU	0800
23 July (Mon)	Geography of Bulgaria--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, K. Marx VII, D. Blagoev VINS, D. A. Tsenov VFSI	0800
24 July (Tue)	Ancient Greek and Latin language--for Kl. Okhrid- skiy SU	0800
	Practice exam--Round 1 for G. Dimitrov VIF	0700
25 July (Wed)	Russian language--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, Shumen VPI, K. Marx VII	0800
	Practice exam--Round 1--for G. Dimitrov VIF	0700
26 July (Thu)	Physics--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, P. Khilendarskiy PU, Shumen VPI, Blagoevgrad VPI	0800
	Practice exam--Round 1--for G. Dimitrov VIF	0700
27 July (Fri)	History of Bulgaria--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, Shumen VPI, P. Khilendarski PU	0800
	Practice exam--Round 1--for G. Dimitrov VIF	0700
	Social sciences--for Sofia VIAS, Sofia VLTI	0800

1	2	3
28 July (Sat)	Biology--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, P. Khilendarski PU, Shumen VPI Practice exam--Round 2--for G. Dimitrov VIF Social sciences--for Stara Zagora VIZVM, V. Kolarov VSI Chemistry--for Medical Academy Drawing--Part II--for Kiril i Metodiy VTU	0800 0700 0800 0800 0800
29 July (Sun)	English language--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, K. Marx VII, D. Blagoev VINS Drawing--Part I--for VIAS Practice exam--Round 2--for G. Dimitrov VIF Drawing--for VLTII	0800 0800 0700 0800
30 July (Mon)	French language--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, K. Marx VII, D. Blagoev VINS Social sciences--for G. Dimitrov VIF Bulgarian language and literature--for specialty of Pedagogics of Fine Arts	0800 0800 0800
31 July (Tue)	German language--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, D. Blagoev VINS, K. Marx VII Drawing--Part for VIAS	0800 0800
1 Aug (Wed)	Social sciences--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, Shumen VPI, Blagoevgrad VPI, P. Khilendarski PU	0800
2 Aug (Thu)	Social sciences--for K. Marx VII, D. Blagoev VINS, D. A. Tsenov VFSI, Medical Academy Journalism--written--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU Testing begins for checking musical abilities and speech for Kl. Okhridskiy SU, Blagoevgrad VPI, Kiril i Metodiy VTU, P. Khilendarski PU, Shumen VPI Drawing--Part 3--for VIAS	0800 0800 0800 0800
3 Aug (Fri)	Social sciences--for V. I. Lenin VMEI, Varna VMEI, Gabrovo VMEI, A. Kunchev VTU, Sofia VMGI, VIKhVP and VKhTI and Burgas VKhTI Chemistry--oral--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU	0800 0800
5 Aug (Sun)	Journalism--oral--for Kl. Okhridskiy SU	0800

Appendix No 7 for Article 8

Illnesses for Which Application Is Not Permitted to Corresponding VUZ, Faculty or Specialty

All VUZ do not allow persons with the following illnesses to apply and take courses:

1. Severe neurological diseases which lead to significant disturbances of motor functions: multiple sclerosis, Parkinsonism, athetosis and other extrapyramidal hyperkinesias, traumaticencephalopathy, traumatic injury to the spine and peripheral nerves, terminal residual injuries to the central and peripheral nervous system after inflammatory, toxic and vascular illnesses, syringomyelia, systemic progressive illnesses of the nervous system and muscular apparatus.

2. Mental illnesses, schizophrenia and true paranoia, cyclophrenia, epilepsy, previous infectious, intoxication, traumatic and other exogenic organic brain diseases which have led to a character or intellectual change of the personality.

3. Patent forms of tuberculosis.

4. Absolute and virtual bilateral blindness with the exceptions of:

For the philosophical faculty--pedagogics, philosophy, sociology;

For the history faculty--not including the specialties of archeology, ethnography and archival studies;

The legal faculty--law;

The philological faculty--all specialties;

The mathematics faculty--all specialties;

The higher economics institute--political economy;

The Bulgarian State Conservatory--all specialties.

Aside from these general contraindications, for the below-given VUZ, faculties and specialties, the following diseases are also contraindicated:

I. For the Kl. Okhridskiy Sofia University, the P. Khilendarskiy Plovdiv University, the Kiril i Metodiy Velika Turnovo University, the Shumen Higher Pedagogical Institute and the Blagoevgrad Pedagogical Institute:

1. In the vocational area of biological sciences and for the specialties of biology and chemistry, persons with the following illnesses are not permitted to apply:

- a) Uncompensated cardiovascular diseases and severe polyallergic ones which resist treatment;
- b) Uncompensated injury to motor functions of the upper and lower extremities;
- c) Disturbances of color perception (anopia and anomalies of type A and B);
- d) Reduced hearing if it cannot be corrected by a hearing aid or operation.

2. In the vocational area of chemical sciences and for the specialties of biology and chemistry, applications are not accepted from persons with:

- a) Diseases of the respiratory and cardiovascular system occurring significantly more severely--for the chemistry specialty;
- b) Proven allergic illnesses;
- c) Uncompensated injury to the skeletal-muscular system and the upper and lower extremities;
- d) Disturbances in color perception;
- e) Complete or virtual blindness in one eye;
- f) Hemolytic anemia, thrombopenia and agranulocytosis.

3. In the vocational areas of geology and geography, persons may not apply with:

- a) Diseases of the respiratory and cardiovascular system, bronchial asthma, polyvalent and physical allergies, myopia above 6 d. sf. [abbreviation unknown] (for the specialty of geology);
- b) Diseases of the respiratory and cardiovascular system (for the specialty of geography);
- c) Uncompensated injury to the motor functions of the upper and lower extremities;
- d) Disturbances in color perception (anopia and anomalies of the type A and B);
- e) Reduced hearing if it cannot be corrected with a hearing aid or operation.

4. For the specialties of philosophy, pedagogics, psychology, law, history, all philologies, journalism, mathematics, Bulgarian language and other specialties for teacher training, persons may not apply with:

- a) Reduced hearing in two ears, if this cannot be corrected by treatment;
- b) Speech defects such as stuttering;
- c) Severe illnesses of the cardiovascular and respiratory system, the skeletal-muscular system and proven allergic illnesses;
- d) Disturbances in color perception (anopia and anomalies of type A and B) for the specialties of primary school pedagogics, preschool pedagogics and the pedagogics of fine art;
- e) Progressive and high myopia leading to a reduction in vision in the better eye below 0.5 with tolerable collection for the specialties of primary school pedagogics, preschool pedagogics, pedagogics of fine arts, pedagogics of labor-polytechnical training;

f) Complete or practical blindness in one eye for the specialties of primary school pedagogics, preschool pedagogics, pedagogics of fine arts, pedagogics of labor-polytechnical training, physics and mathematics, chemistry and mathematics, biology and chemistry, chemistry and physics, pedagogics of Pioneer and Komsomol activities, journalism, remedial instruction, Bulgarian language and a selected Western language, Russian language and a selected Western language, history and geography, Bulgarian language and Russian language;

g) Uncompensated injury of the skeletal-muscular system.

II. For the V. I. Lenin Higher Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia, the Varna Higher Electrical Engineering Institute, the Gabrovo Higher Electrical Engineering Institute, the Angel Kunchev Higher Technical School in Ruse and the Sofia Higher Institute for Architecture and Construction:

1. Significantly expressed or severe diseases of the cardiovascular and motor system;

2. Uncompensated injury to the skeletal-muscular system;

3. Disturbances of color perception for the specialties of architecture, equipment and technology of textiles and clothing, and for the vocational areas of electrical technician and electronics and automation;

4. Disturbances in adaptation (congenital and acquired);

5. The absence of binocular vision for the Architecture Faculty, Geodetic Faculty and the Shipbuilding Faculty.

Note. For the Transport Faculty according to the Regulation of the Transport Institute;

6. Acuteness of vision totaling below 1.6 with tolerable correction in both eyes and at least 0.6 in the poorer seeing eye. For the vocational area of machine building and instrument building an acuteness of vision totaling below 1.0 with tolerable correction in both eyes and at least 0.6 in the poorer seeing eye;

7. Impaired hearing for the specialties of railroad equipment, the technology and organization of rail transport;

8. Agranulocytosis and thrombopenia for the specialty of electronic engineering and microelectronics.

III. For the Higher Mining and Geological Institute:

1. On the Mining Faculty persons may not apply with:

a) Severe illnesses of the respiratory and cardiovascular system;

b) Uncompensated illnesses of the skeletal-muscular system of the extremities and trunk;

- c) Disturbances in adaptation--congenital and acquired;
- d) Acuteness of vision totaling under 1.6 in both eyes and at least 0.6 in the poorer seeing eye with tolerable correction;
- e) Agranulocytosis, thrombopenia and aplastic anemia.

2. On the Geological Prospecting Faculty persons may not apply with:

- a) Severe illnesses of the respiratory and cardiovascular system;
- b) Bronchial asthma, polyvalent and physical allergies for the specialty of mineral prospecting;
- c) Uncompensated injury to the skeletal-muscular system;
- d) Disturbances in color perception (anopia and anomalies of type A and B) for the specialties of mineral prospecting, hydrogeology and engineering geology;
- e) Chronic severe photodermatites (xeroderma pigmentosum, lupus erythematosus and other).

IV. At the Higher Forestry Engineering Institute, persons may not apply with:

- 1. Pulmonary and heart diseases with the exception of the specialty of landscaping;
- 2. Polyvalent and physical allergies for the specialties of forestry and landscaping;
- 3. Severely occurring diseases of the skeletal-muscular system of the lower extremities and uncompensated diseases in the upper extremities;
- 4. Disturbance in color perception (anopia and anomalies of type A and B);
- 5. Photodermatites (xeroderma pigmentosum, lupus erythematosus).

V. At the Sofia Higher Chemical Engineering Institute and the Burgas Prof.

A. Zlatarov Higher Chemical Engineering Institute, persons may not apply with:

- 1. Chronic and severely occurring diseases of the respiratory and cardiovascular systems;
- 2. Allergic diseases;
- 3. Disturbances in color perception;
- 4. Severely occurring illnesses of the skeletal-muscular system of the upper extremities and uncompensated ones in the lower extremities;
- 5. Complete or practical blindness in one eye;

6. Severe chronic allergic dermatites (eczema, neurodermatitis, urticaria);
7. Hemolytic anemia, thrombopenia and agranulocytosis.

VI. For the Plovdiv Higher Institute for the Food Industry, persons may not apply with:

1. Severely occurring illnesses of the respiratory and cardiovascular system;
2. Allergic illnesses;
3. Uncompensated illnesses of the skeletal-muscular system;
4. Illnesses leading to the lack of smell and taste;
5. Severe chronic and widespread dermatites, genodermatosis, ichthyosis, epidermolysis, psoriasis, eczemas.

VII. For the Vasil Kolarov Higher Agricultural Institute and the Higher Institute for Zootechnics and Veterinary Medicine, persons may not apply with:

1. Severely occurring illnesses of the respiratory and cardiovascular system;
2. Allergic illnesses of the respiratory organs, skin and physical allergy;
3. Severely occurring illnesses of the skeletal-muscular system in the lower extremities and non-compensation of the upper ones. For the specialty of veterinary medicine, such illnesses of the extremities and trunk;
4. Photodermatites (xeroderma pigmentosum, lupus erythematosus).

VIII. At the Medical Academy, persons may not apply with:

1. Severely occurring illnesses of the cardiovascular system;
2. Severe and hard to treat polyallergic illnesses for all specialties; drug allergies shown in recent years prior to application for the specialties of stomatology and pharmacy;
3. Primary varices of the superficial venous system in the lower extremities for the specialty of stomatology; post-phlebitis syndrome in its three forms (edemal, secondary varicose, trophic changes), lymphostasis (elephantiasis) of the lower extremities for the specialties of stomatology and pharmacy;
4. Uncompensated permanent injuries to the skeletal-muscular system.

Considered as contraindicated orthopedic injuries and illnesses are:

- a) Uncompensated injuries to an upper extremity significantly reducing its function;
- b) Amputated upper extremity, the loss of three or more fingers (including the first, second and third fingers);

- c) Congenital anomalies of the upper extremity leading to severe invalidism;
 - d) Condition after infantile paralysis in the upper extremity and disrupting its function significantly;
 - e) Uncompensated injury to a lower extremity significantly disrupting its function for the specialty of stomatology;
 - f) An extremity amputated high at the base of the thigh for the specialty of stomatology;
 - g) Congenital and acquired deformations of the backbone and chest for the specialty of stomatology;
 - h) Congenital dysplasia or dislocation of the hip for the specialty of stomatology;
 - i) Severe congenital and static deformations of the foot for the specialty of stomatology;
5. Disturbance of color perception (anopia, anomalies of type A and B, and for pharmacy also type C);
 6. Progressive and high myopia which has led to a reduction in vision to 0.8 in the better seeing eye with tolerable correction and vision in both eyes of at least 1.4; disturbance of binocular vision, myopia over 8.0 d and hyperopia over 6 d for specialists in stomatology and pharmacy;
 7. Juvenile and pigmental retinal degeneration;
 8. Permanent incurable impairment of hearing in both ears;
 9. Severe speech defects and major dysphonia;
 10. Chronic ulcerohemorrhagic colitis with frequent exacerbations and complications as well as other chronic and postoperative diseases of the digestive system, liver and bile ducts which limit the work efficiency of the patient;
 11. Chronic recurring pancreatitis;
 12. Paraplegia, hemiplegia, permanent, partial or total aphasia, severe and permanent dyskinesia;
 13. Pemphigus vulgaris, scleroderma systematica, dermatomyositis, psoriasis arthropathy (severe, incurable forms), periarteritis nodosa, mycosis fungoides, Kaposi sarcoma, Recklinhausen's disease, epidermolysis acquisita, ichthyosis vulgari in the severe forms, erythematodes [?] subacutus and chronicus, xeroderma pigmentosum.

IX. The G. Dimitrov VIF does not admit candidates with:

1. Injuries, illnesses and conditions after operations on the skeletal-muscular system (the skeletal and muscular system, joints and ligaments) which prevent the carrying out of extended and heavy physical stresses;

2. Diseases of the cardiovascular system;
 - a) Congenital and acquired valve defects;
 - b) Diseases of the endocardium, myocardium and pericardium;
 - c) Manifestations of cardiac insufficiency;
 - d) Hypertensive illness in the secondary and tertiary stages;
 - e) Phlebitis;
 - f) Paroxysmal tachycardia;
3. Diseases of the respiratory system:
 - a) Tuberculosis of all outpatient groups;
 - b) Chronic bronchitis, bronchiectasis, pulmonary emphysema;
 - c) Bronchial asthma with pulmonary insufficiency;
 - d) After an operation on the lungs with impaired function;
 - e) Cured pleurisy with massive pleural adhesions and damaged pulmonary function;
4. Diseases of the excretory system;
 - a) Chronic inflammatory and degenerative diseases (chronic glomerulonephritis, chronic pyelonephritis, nephroses, and so forth);
 - b) Cholelithiasis;
5. Chronic gastrointestinal and hepatic illnesses with disrupted function of the organs;
6. Diseases of the blood and internal secretion glands;
7. Speech defects such as stuttering;
8. Eye diseases without a possibility of correcting vision; effective blindness in one eye;
9. Ear diseases with reduction in hearing in whispering under 5 m; effective loss of hearing in one ear;
10. Mental and nervous diseases (epilepsy) and others which are not compatible with extended mental and physical stresses;
11. Young persons released or discharged for illness from military service cannot study in the G. Dimitrov VIF.

X. The Bulgarian State Conservatory does not admit as applicants persons with:

1. Reduced hearing for all specialties;
2. Chronic and severely occurring illnesses of the respiratory tracts and the cardiovascular system for all wind instruments and the specialties of conducting and singing;
3. Congenital and acquired deformation of the spinal column and chest for the specialty of singing;
4. Illnesses of the skeletal and muscular system in the upper extremities for all instruments and conducting.

XI. The Kr. Sarafov Higher Institute for Theatrical Art does not admit as applicants persons with:

1. Ear diseases with impaired hearing under 5 m, effective loss of hearing in one ear;
2. Diseases of the respiratory system;
 - a) Chronic obstructive bronchitis and pulmonary emphysema with proven expressed obstruction of the respiratory tracts;
 - b) Bronchial asthma the occurrence of which cannot be controlled;
 - c) Active forms of pulmonary and extrapulmonary tuberculosis;
 - d) Chronic pulmonary diseases occurring with respiratory insufficiency;
3. Diseases of the cardiovascular system:
 - a) Congenital and acquired valve defects;
 - b) Diseases of the endocardium, myocardium and pericardium;
 - c) Manifestations of cardiac insufficiency;
 - d) Hypertensive illness of the second and third stages;
 - e) Severe chronic diseases.

Letters "a" and "b" do not apply to the specialties of theatrical management and directing;

4. Injuries, congenital malformations, acquired diseases, amputation and conditions after operations on the skeletal-muscular system (skeletal and muscular system, joints and ligaments) which prevent the carrying out of extended and heavy physical stresses:

- a) Chronic diseases of muscles and tendons which disrupt the function of the motor system;

b) Congenital or acquired diseases leading to arthrosis with functional deviations in the lower extremities and spine;

5. Expressed forms of rheumatoid arthritis, Bechterew's disease and other chronic arthropathies;

6. Frequently recurring rheumatic attacks with the presence of decompensation of heart disease;

7. Eye diseases without any possibility of correcting the sharpness of vision in the afflicted eye to more than 0.6;

8. Diseases of the blood and internal secretion glands:

a) Malignant blood diseases;

b) Diseases leading to disability such as: hemophilia, conditions after a splenectomy, congenital hemolytic anemia;

c) Diseases from diabetes with severe complications of the eyes and kidneys;

9. The contraindications with the remaining endocrinal diseases should be clarified from an individual examination of the patients by an endocrinologist.

General Comments

I. As contraindicated internal diseases given in the text are the following:

1. Diseases of the cardiovascular system: a) congenital and acquired valve defects with frequent manifestations of decompensation; b) recurrent, severely occurring diseases of the endocardium, myocardium and pericardium; c) malignant hypertension;

2. Diseases of the respiratory system are: a) chronic bronchitis with severe occurrence; b) pulmonary emphysema in the advanced stage; c) significantly expressed pneumosclerosis; d) severely occurring bronchial asthma;

3. Diseases of the skeletal-muscular system: a) active and frequently recurring rheumatism; b) rheumatic injury to the muscles and tendons; c) rheumatoid arthritis in the advanced stage; d) severe arthritic changes.

4. Diseases of the liver: a) chronic hepatitis; b) cirrhosis of the liver.

5. Diseases of the kidneys: a) severely occurring nephritis; b) pyelonephritis with nitrogen retention.

II. Disputed cases for the table of illnesses for which permission is not granted for admission of students to the VUZ, faculty or specialty are settled by the LKK [Medical Examination Commission] under the okrug hospitals in observing the rayon principle of serving the public.

III. The integrity and compensation of the skeletal-muscular system are determined by an orthopedic traumatologist.

IV. Allergic diseases of the skin must not be considered as absolutely contraindicated for admission to the enumerated VUZ and must be examined specifically depending upon the state at the moment, therapeutic possibilities, mental state and adjustment of the patient.

V. For concealing illnesses which would prevent application to the corresponding VUZ, faculty or specialty, applicants are eliminated from participating in the competition and if they have been admitted as students are expelled from the VUZ.

VI. Mental illnesses according to the second point of the general contraindications are considered verified after inpatient examination, treatment and outpatient follow-up.

After individual evaluation, permission may be given to study in all VUZ without those under the Medical Academy and all specialties for the training of teachers or other type of instructors for persons having:

Schizophrenia with extended and complete remissions and without a change in personality;

Cyclophrenia with rare phases and extended and complete bright periods;

Epilepsy with very rare paroxysms and without a personality change.

The individual evaluation is performed by the rayon psychiatric institutions at the place of residence of the student.

Disputed cases are settled by a consultative commission under the psychiatry chairs of the corresponding medical faculties in the nation in observing the principle of residence.

10272

CSO: 2200/108

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON MILITARY CALL-UP

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSHAU in German No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 20 Feb 84)
pp 38-43

['AR-Advisor' feature: "Call-Up"]

[Text] After receiving induction orders, delivered to the draftee at least 14 days prior to induction, management at the job must immediately be informed of the imminent draft. At least three days before the entry date everyone must sign out at the appropriate VP (People's Police) reporting point, presenting a copy of his induction orders. Those entering basic training will surrender their identity papers. The induction orders serve as a travel authorization for the trip from home to garrison.

Items to be brought along amount to quite a few. Induction orders specify military service certificate, work and social insurance papers, membership certificates for the SED and FDJ, drivers license, rations for one day, a container for returning civilian clothing, and items for personal use. What do the latter include? Soap, toothbrush and shaving gear, comb and pocket mirror, washcloths, shoe cleaning, sewing and mending gear should be taken along in double quantities, one being available for daily use, one packed in the alert pack. On the other hand, one scrub brush, one nail file, and one set of flatware are sufficient. A clothes brush and several coat hangers, as well as two padlocks with keys for the wall locker should also be remembered. It is also advisable to bring along pajamas or nightshirts, as well as handkerchiefs, black or grey socks, swimming trunks, a pair of slippers, towels, writing instruments, a flashlight and a pocket knife. And musical instruments can of course be part of the luggage heading for the barracks.

According to the constitutional right for joining political parties and social organizations, existing memberships remain in effect during military service. Members of the SED, FDJ, and DTSB (German Gymnastics and Sports Association) exercise their membership rights in the party and FDJ cells, as well as of the ASV Vorwaerts organizations active in the armed forces. On the other hand, membership in the FDGB (Federation of Free German Trade Unions), the GST (Society for Sport and Technology), the German Red Cross of the GDR, in the Kulturbund, and the VKSK is suspended during active military service; consequently, no membership dues are to be paid.

A farewell is given to the recruits by their enterprises. The latter are specifically obligated by Article 5 of the Military Service Act to do this. According to a directive of the Council of National Defense (Directive of Call-Up) government organs and enterprises are directed to maintain close contacts with recruits undergoing military basic training or temporary active duty. This includes initiations to festivities of the firms, with attendance naturally depending on military requirements. Outstanding military achievements should be recognized not only by commanders but also by firms. As a rule, inductees are to be included in governmental or intra-enterprise recognition of their labor collectives. And finally, the appropriate government organs and firms are urged to include family members--especially wives and children--in job-related, political, and cultural activities, and to offer them needed aid and support. To assure that this is done appropriate clauses are to be included in collective labor contracts and other agreements.

Pay of soldiers on initial active duty depends of their grade. Privates receive 150, privates first class 180 marks a month. Hardship pay is granted for physically and psychologically stressful assignments; for example, to tank crews and to crews of the naval ship and boats of the Volksmarine. For example, tank crews receive an additional 20 marks per month. Base pay and supplemental payments are exempt from income tax and the mandatory contribution to social insurance; they cannot be seized or attached.

Service obligations of the soldier are fixed in internal service regulation DV D10/0/003. According to it the soldier has to discharge his duties according to his service oath, maintain combat gear and equipment entrusted to him in a serviceable condition, and be able to operate it, and to conscientiously discharge duties assigned to him. The soldier must participate in the political and military training, and contribute to meeting the combat mission of his group; fulfill exactly and promptly orders of his group commander and other superiors, behave in a disciplined and militarily impeccable manner, and contribute to strengthening of socialist relations within the collective; conscientiously discharge duties assigned to him within the group, acquiring the needed skills and proficiency, and to apply them expertly; observe and meet safety regulations while handling weapons and ammunition or working on combat equipment; maintain his personal weapon and items of clothing/equipment; perform minor repairs on his clothing/equipment, and maintain his room and wall locker in good order; meet requirements of personal and troop hygiene and preventive medicine; always be dressed according to regulation; know the positions, names and ranks of his direct superiors, up to and including the division commander; and report his departure from the company area to the group commander or the duty NCO of the company, and to report to them upon return.

Soldiers are housed in barracks. Usually four to ten comrades room together; the room is kept clean by an orderly, appointed by the room elder on a rotating basis. Noncommissioned officers on a limited term of duty usually are housed two to four to a room, where they also prepare for training. There is a company club in every unit. The barracks are almost like a small town. Included in it are the guard and headquarters building, company housing units,

classrooms and training facilities, the parade ground, the kitchen and dining facilities for soldiers, NCOs on fixed terms of duty, and career soldiers, the first aid station, supply rooms for clothing and equipment, including shops for tailors and shoe repair, a barber shop, showers, the regimental club, library, rooms for hobbies or working circles, canteen and sales facilities of the military trade organization, mail room, visitors' room, as well as sports facilities for physical training and offduty sports. Combat and transportation vehicles and other equipment are concentrated in motor pools along with garages, shops and warehouses.

The gear issued to a soldier consists of more than 50 items of personal clothing and equipment. But not to worry--everything fits into the wall locker--and anyone not managing at once will receive friendly assistance from the group leader. There are alone three kinds of headgear--garrison, fatigue, and fur caps--not including the steel helmet. Then there is the overcoat, the parade and duty jackets, long trousers, shirts and ties. Also, two sets of fatigues, one for the summer, the other (padded) for the winter. Add to this the pistol belt, tent shelter half, field equipment, boots and shoes, athletic dress, underwear, socks, gloves, handkerchief, etc. All that will be needed is provided. Most items of clothing are laundered or cleaned by the service organizations; this includes uniforms, fatigues, wool blankets, work uniforms, underwear, shirts and bedding. Each unit has a regular clothing exchange for this purpose: underwear and towels are changed weekly, bedding and shirts every 14 days. Shirts and underwear must be clearly marked with one's name so that everyone will receive his laundry back. Everyone for himself--that is the word regarding athletic equipment, handkerchiefs, socks and ties--these must be cleaned by everyone himself. Small repairs to clothing must also be made individually, there is a weekly cleaning and patching hour for that purpose.

Families of soldiers in basic service receive under certain conditions a monthly subsidy for which application must be made to the town or village council. A wife receives 250 marks a month, provided that there is at least one child under 16 in the household; wives on maternity leave, those unable to work because they are high school or resident college students, those receiving vocational training and apprentice pay, and those disabled or caring for family members requiring constant care also receive the subsidy. One demonstrably unable to work and receiving no other income than the subsidy receives 300 marks. If any of the above-mentioned provisions do not apply, the monthly sum will be 100 marks. As a clarification: Working wives earning more than 350 marks per month will have 50 percent of the salary exceeding 350 marks deducted from the subsidy. As a rule, an additional 60 marks will be paid for every qualifying child, regardless of the mother's income. Also, wives of soldiers in basic service not having any income of their own are entitled to rent subsidies up to the amount of the rent (less costs for heat and hot water). However, rental assistance may also be granted when the rent is relatively high in relation to income; in such a case part of the rent may be paid as subsidy. Finally, it should be mentioned that wives may apply at the appropriate post office for waivers of radio and television dues--namely, when they are disabled, or if the household includes a child under three or two or more children under eight, or they have to care for a family member residing in the household and requiring constant care.

Leave is granted only after basic training. Soldiers on initial military duty receive 18 days of leave in their 18 months, with Sundays and legal holidays not included. An attempt is made to grant everyone five consecutive days of vacation leave every half year, and an extended pass from Friday after duty until beginning of duty the following Tuesday, so that the interval from one leave to the next is usually 12 weeks. All soldiers on initial military service are entitled to six free leave trips on the railway. Special leave may be granted as a reward or for special occasions. Special occasions include one's own wedding, birth of one's child, change of one's residence, youth consecration or marriage of one's children, disasters affecting one's household, and serious illness or death of a wife, child, parent or parent-in-law, sibling, or of a step-daughter or stepson. Special leave may also be granted for preparing or concluding a labor contract in anticipation of an imminent discharge, or for preparing for admission to a resident course of study at a university or technical college. Special leave is granted only in connection with the actual event, i.e., not after the fact.

Immediately after induction everyone participates in a physical achievement evaluation test, called the 8 Event PT test. It consists of the following exercises with the corresponding minimum requirements:

100 meter dash	14.6 seconds
pushups	20
5 meter rope climb	19 seconds
triple jump	6.00 meters
pullups	6
3000 meter run	13:20 minutes
hand grenade throw	32 meters
400 meter obstacle course	2:40 minutes

Every recruit must absorb 140 hours of basic military training. During it he will be introduced to the requirements of military service and the oath of enlistment, he will acquire the basic common skills and proficiency for all duty positions. This takes place in nine areas of training--political education, tactics, special, security, marksmanship, drill, hygiene, and physical training, and of an introduction to service regulations.

Political work is based on the book "Vom Sinn des Soldatseins" [Meaning of Soldiering] that is issued to every recruit. A presentation by the commander introduces him to his class mission as a socialist soldier, and to the traditions of his unit. A film illustrates the military tasks faced by every soldier and what is required to meet them.

In tactical training everyone learns how to move on the battlefield, how to prepare field positions, how to observe and report. In marksmanship training the correct handling and effective use of the automatic rifle and hand grenade are learned. Physical training consists of measuring achievement through the NVA eight-event PT test, passing the obstacle course, hand grenade throw, and close combat training.

The high point of basic training is the festive administration of the service oath. Often this will mean a first meeting with family members, since many of them are present as their husbands, friends, or sons take the military fealty oath. After the four weeks of basic training everyone is detailed to regular units, where on 1 June the second training cycle for 1983/84 begins.

In short, every inductee is from 0000 hours of the date shown in his induction orders a member of the NVA or of the border troops of the GDR.

Soldiers on initial tour of duty may be promoted to the grade of private first class/seaman; this occurs usually at the end of the second half year of training, depending on their duty performance.

Labor relations are suspended during initial military service or active duty for training; inductees cannot be offered transfers or cancellations; they are protected from dismissal.

Recruits called up in May have after the end of the year a legal right to their share of the end of the year bonus for the period from 1 January to the date of call-up. Soldiers in basic service are not allowed to bring private automobiles to their duty station.

Army members can receive visitors during offduty hours. There are special guest rooms in the units, and the regimental commander may, when needed, also allocate rooms in the MHO (military trade organization) canteen, the club house, reading cafes, and other areas.

All army members are inoculated against tetanus and viral flu.

Army members have the opportunity to shower at least once a week.

The menus of most unit mess halls have two lunch courses to select from, while during breakfast and supper butter and sausage are distributed in measured quantities, while cottage cheese, cheese, salads, cucumbers and other cold cuts are available on a self-service basis.

As a rule, soldiers on basic tour of duty receive one weekly pass, good until 2400 hours, within the limits of the garrison town.

Payment obligations of soldiers on their basic tour of duty, or of their dependent family members that were incurred before induction as credits (including time payments for consumer goods) may, upon obligation, be suspended either totally or partially.

Almost all company clubs have 150 to 200 books, regularly supplemented or exchanged by the regimental library.

With the permission of the company commander one individual radio may be installed in barracks rooms wherever there is no central loudspeaker facility.

Soldiers on a basic tour of duty who are single and have their own apartment receive upon application a rental subsidy amounting to the monthly apartment rent from the council of the town or village.

Private cameras of army members living in barracks are centrally stored and issued out only when departing on pass or leave.

Working wives of soldiers on basic tour of duty may apply for workers' return tickets for travel to the garrison town. Application must be approved by both the firm of the wife and the unit of the husband.

There are usually two free movie screenings a week in units.

[Figures 1-5 on following pages]

Die Gliederung der Nationalen Volksarmee

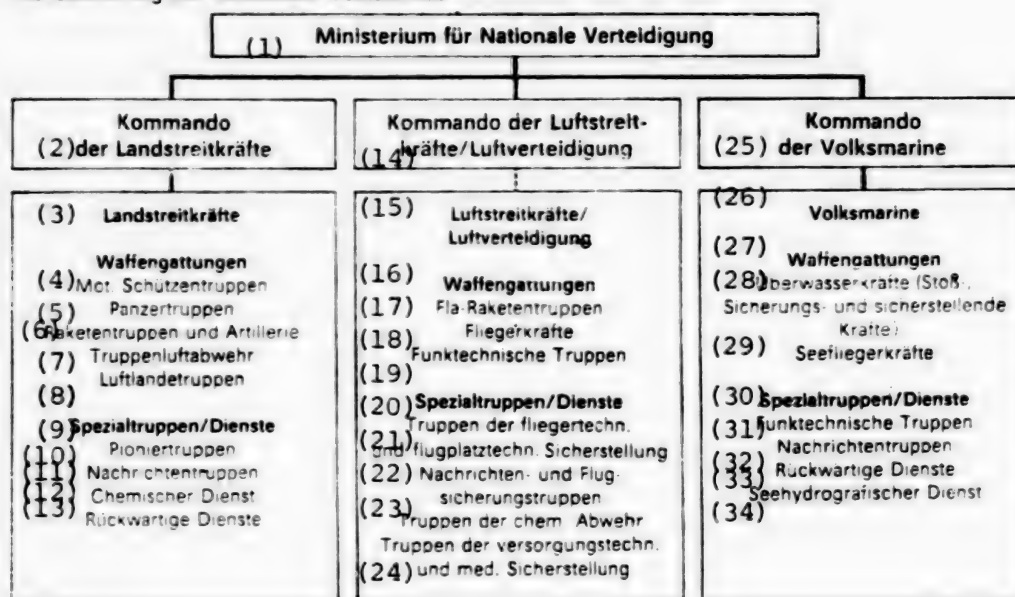


Figure 1. Organization of the National Peoples Army

Key:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Ministry of National Defense | 29. Naval aviation |
| 2. Headquarters, Ground Forces | 30. Special troops/Services |
| 3. Ground Forces | 31. Signal troops |
| 4. Motorized troops | 32. Intelligence troops |
| 5. Armored troops | 33. Rear services |
| 6. Rocket troops and artillery | 34. Maritime hydrographic services |
| 7. Anti-aircraft artillery | |
| 8. Airborne troops | |
| 9. Special troops/Services | |
| 10. Engineer troops | |
| 11. Intelligence troops | |
| 12. Chemical troops | |
| 13. Rear services | |
| 14. Headquarters, Air Forces/Air Defense | |
| 15. Air Forces/Air Defense | |
| 16. Branches of Service | |
| 17. Anti-aircraft rocket troops | |
| 18. Air forces | |
| 19. Radio troops | |
| 20. Special troops/Services | |
| 21. Troops for aircraft and airfield maintenance | |
| 22. Intelligence and air security troops | |
| 23. Troops for chemical defense | |
| 24. Troops for supply and medical services | |
| 25. Headquarters, Peoples Navy | |
| 26. Peoples Navy | |
| 27. Branches | |
| 28. Surface forces (attack, security and maintenance forces) | |



Figure 2. Insignia of Rank (Ground Forces, Air Forces/Air Defense)

Key:

1. Soldiers
2. Private
3. Private First Class
4. Corporal
5. NCO, Warrant Officer and Officer candidates
6. NCO candidate
7. Warrant Officer candidate, 2nd school year
8. Officer candidate in college course of studies
- 8a. Officer candidate, 1st year of college study
9. NCOs
10. Sergeant
11. Staff Sergeant
12. Sergeant First Class
13. Master Sergeant
14. Sergeant Major
15. Warrant Officers
16. Warrant Officer
17. Chief Warrant Officer
18. CW 3
19. CW 4
20. Officers
21. Sublieutenant
22. Lieutenant
23. First Lieutenant
24. Captain
25. Major
26. Lieutenant Colonel
27. Colonel
28. Generals/Marshals
29. Major General
30. Lieutenant General
31. Colonel General
32. General of the Army
33. Marshal of the GDR

Figure 3. Daily Training Schedule

0600	Reveille
0605-0625	Morning exercise
0625-0645	Personal hygiene, bed makeup
0645-0705	Breakfast
0705-0725	Room and area cleanup
0735-0745	Morning formation
0800-1345	Training
1345-1500	Lunch break
1500-1650	Maintenance of machinery, equipment, personal weapons
1650-1700	Issue of details
1700-1830	Political mass effort including meetings, informations, discussion groups, etc.
1830-1910	Supper
1910-2130	Free time
2130-2145	Evening washup, room and area cleanup
2145-2200	Room inspection
2200	Lights out

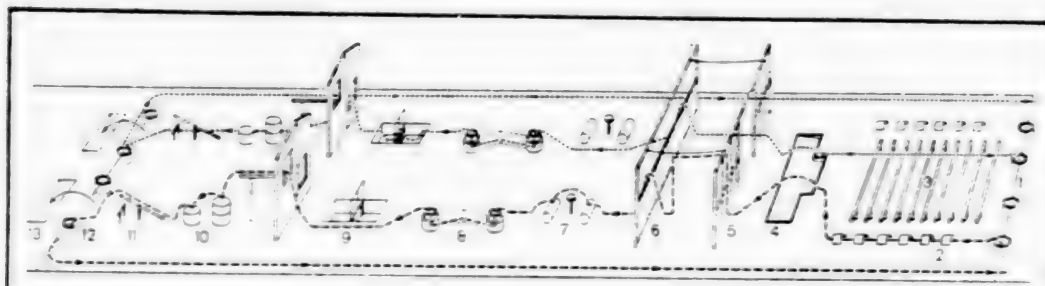


Figure 4. Obstacle Course

The obstacle course consists of a 200 meter long strip of land, on which standardized obstacles depict a sector of a battlefield. The course is timed. Training on the obstacle course takes place according to a winter and a summer norm, depicted in the figure by dots and dashes, respectively. The obstacles: Starting holes (1); crawling obstacle made of concrete elements (2); climbing obstacle (3); water ditch (4). At the rope frame (5) the soldier climbs a vertical rope up to a horizontal rope, moves hand over hand half the distance, and jumps off. The sixth obstacle is a fixed wall. Then there is a jump from the first concrete element to the jumping platform (7) and from there to the second concrete element. At the tunnel (8) the soldier jumps into the entry tube and negotiates the tunnel; at the exit a sharp turn is made. At the ditch (9) the climb through a basement window is practiced. A gable wall and jump platform follow; in the summer the soldier climbs a rope to the upper window and then jumps from a balancing beam via a jump platform, while in the winter he vaults through the lower window. Next the seesaw must be negotiated, followed by foxholes (12). After at least one of the three training grenades hits the target pit (13) the soldier kneels in the foxhole and puts on his protective mask. Then he runs alongside the course back to the starting line where his time is measured.



Figure 5. Branch Insignia (Selection)

Key:

1. Rocket troops and artillery
2. Armor
3. Reconnaissance
4. Engineers
5. Airborne
6. Aircraft maintenance
7. Flight student
8. Aviation supply
9. Intelligence
10. Chemical service
11. Technical intelligence
12. Military transportation
13. Relay technician
14. Radiolocation
15. Armorer
16. Fireman
17. Traffic police
18. Tank maintenance
19. Rocket and weapons maintenance
20. Transportation maintenance
21. Medical service
22. Engineers and airfield services (Air Forces/Air Defense)
23. Meteorological service (Air Forces/Air Defense)
24. Military justice organ

GROWING NUMBER OF STUDENTS EXPRESS OPPOSITIONAL VIEWS

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3, Mar 84 pp 41-50

[Interviews with Dr Peter Schmidt, professor of the Political Science and Law Faculty, Lorand Eotvos University; Dr Jozsef Gondi, docent, Philosophy Department, Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences; Dr Miklos Ivanyi, deputy rector of instruction, Budapest Technical University; and Dr Ivan Szenes, deputy dean of the Faculty of General Medicine, Semmelweis Medical University; by Gyorgy Foris, journalist: "Critical Attitude or Oppositionary Behavior?"; date and place of interviews not given]

[Text] There is always "trouble" with our youth. They are impatient and lack historical experience, but (perhaps for this very reason) tend to be more critical than warranted and to cite only the abuses. These accusations are common knowledge, but they are not necessarily unfounded always and in every respect. But criticism of the "hotheads" among our youth sometimes does not stop here. Specifically in the case of young people who are better educated and better informed than the average person (mostly university and college students) the question often arises as to whether their critical behavior is "politically dangerous" or perhaps "oppositionalary."

This is already a serious question. For it is one thing if someone is outraged, or "rants" if you wish, upon experiencing real or imagined abuses. And it is quite another thing if someone does not agree with our essential ideological and political precepts, objectives or--let us say frankly--with the fundamental principles of our social system and, moreover, consciously attacks them and argues against them. (Even in this case, of course, it is questionable as to what should be done, because these are young people who are just now forming their world outlook.) In any case, in order to evaluate it, we must first acquaint ourselves with the phenomenon itself.

In the following interviews, which were conducted by Gyorgy Foris, we will hear from university instructors who may justifiably claim to be in the "front line." In the course of

teaching various subjects or by virtue of their office, they are able to acquaint themselves daily with the students' views.

The main question we asked each interviewee was: How do you assess the ideological and political aspect of university students, and if you find that the outlook of some of them is oppositionary, in what sense is it so and how did it become oppositionary?

Professor Dr Peter Schmidt
(Political Science and Law Faculty, Lorand Eotvos University)

[Answer] The question is typically one that is worth investigating only in terms of its historicity, development and trends. In the wake of the initial debates on economic reform, 15 to 18 years ago, a growing political interest and an increasing awareness of social problems were perceptible within Hungarian society, and hence also here at the Law Faculty. When at some seminar we approached the sociopolitical problems from the viewpoint of legislation and constitutional law, at least seven or eight students out of a group of 15 felt compelled to express their own views on these problems. Even then these views did not necessarily reflect a "pro-government" standpoint, but in themselves they indicated a constructive effort to find answers.

From the mid-1970's on, this process stopped. Five to eight years ago, the response to sociopolitical problems within the same circle was indifference, and --to continue the above example--at best only one or two students out of the 15 spoke out. Typically, the view of the others was: "Leave me alone, teach me law so that I can pursue my profession, I am not interested in anything else."

Today, active interest in sociopolitical issues has again increased, to at least 50 percent at the social science faculties, including the Law Faculty. But now this active interest reflects an increasingly different basic standpoint. I sense a kind of political ferment, with more than half of the students politically indifferent, while a significant proportion of those who are interested are typically disillusioned, skeptical regarding the prospects of change, and oppositionary.

[Question] What triggered all this, what are the underlying causes of this phenomenon?

[Answer] The most important cause--and this is typical not only of youth--is that Hungarian society has forgotten how to engage in politics. I do not mean politics in its present customary sense, rather the rational approach of the given social strata (or classes) to the given social phenomena, in accordance with their own interests. Today Hungarian society is engaging in politics not on the basis of facts, but of intuitions and emotions. And no wonder, because we know extremely little about the social processes. We know, for example, that many nice villas are being built on Lake Balaton, because we see them. It appears that some people are rich. But who are they? Where do they get their money? And to what extent have they earned it? Or take another example. The belief is widespread that doctors are making a lot of money from gratuities.

But what percentage of the doctors is in a position to receive gratuities, and what percentage is excluded from this? Another common belief is that skilled workers have high incomes. Masons, for example, earn in two days (admittedly as private artisans) the equivalent of what others earn in a week. But do all skilled workers have such outstandingly high incomes? This is not what the blast-furnace operators are saying.

Neither sociology nor political science provides any help in answering these questions. Very often these sciences themselves "supply" facts that reflect the sphere of phenomena; these facts generate emotions, and now people are engaging in politics on the basis of such emotions.

But there is also another reason at least as important: the views within society differ. (For the time being, let us disregard whether the views are founded or unfounded; here I merely wish to place on record the fact that they exist.) These views, concerns and ideas are frequently debated informally. This debate takes place mostly outside the existing organizational structure (including partially also the press). But if a society is unable to integrate these views within the existing political framework, then from society's viewpoint these views seem to be oppositionary and are classified as such to begin with. Thus it may happen that today even simple and essentially constructive criticism appears to be oppositionary, merely because it is confined "outside the framework."

These two reasons jointly (i.e., that views are not based on facts and are expressed outside the existing framework) result in that politics within society today are extremely naive and primitive. A typical manifestation of such politics is that participants in a debate do not start out from social realities or specific interests, but from abstract values. "Long live complete democracy," they proclaim, for example, and they want to derive and achieve everything from this absolute value (or solution). (Incidentally, this is typical not only of "opposition at all cost." We may safely include here also the slogan of "Greater industrial democracy." This in itself is again merely an abstract phrase. For it is useless to "develop" local "democracy" if it only serves "freer" verbosity, while the conditions for well-organized production are not ensured, and meaningful financial and production decisions continue to be made by management, or perhaps even one level higher.) Adherence to abstract values then produces at best messianic and nation-redeeming ideas that are far removed from reality. This is true particularly of the younger generation that is distancing itself more and more from the coalition period's debates that were based on tangible facts and interests. This generation sees the phenomena, but it too lacks the essential facts, and is thus left only with emotions.

[Question] Specifically in view of what you have just said, to what extent can all this be regarded as a generation problem? Most of the young people who are debating and criticizing today--on the basis of their emotions if you wish--are not questioning the foundations of the system, but merely find that the experienced phenomenon is in itself unacceptable. They are doing this sincerely, with a real desire to improve, although it is often spiced with messianic zeal. Therefore they find it the more surprising when their ideas are branded, especially by the elder generation, as being in opposition to the political system.

[Answer] Subjective intentions aside, behind this there does exist an oppositionary effect, and there is also a generational problem. So long as in Hungary one of the basic issues of society's development was the choice of a path based, respectively, on the public and the private ownership of the means of production, there was no debate on issues that were, comparatively speaking, of secondary importance. Naturally, those on one side or the other did not agree by far on everything, but their differences were subordinated to their agreement on the main issue. Everyone felt that until this main issue was resolved, the raising of other issues would have undermined the adopted standpoints. The lessons of 1956 only reinforced and intensified this conviction in many people.

The next generation did not experience all this directly, and in the meantime the basic issue was decided, and the outcome became fact. Thus a young person today has no inhibition to notice and criticize anything he finds discordant. And when he does so, he never thinks of the basic issue. For him the alternative of socialism or capitalism usually does not even arise. He criticizes and fights a negative phenomenon as such, and it does not even occur to him that thereby he might be weakening the position of any "main front." This is basically different in the political reflexes, and hence also in the assessments, of the elder generation that has learned the lessons of history.

On the basis of the preceding, then, it can be said that students still lack certain historical reflexes, and that their participation in politics is necessarily naive and emotional, due to their inadequate knowledge of the facts. Moreover, since they engage in politics often outside the existing framework, they act from a certain oppositionary fundamental position also by virtue of their situation. It can hardly be disputed that the social reality which they received "ready-made" has made them into what they are, essentially independently of their will; thus their behavior is a type of honest reflex, merely the feedback, of the social and material conditions surrounding them. But to simply tolerate them is no solution, because they could jeopardize political and ideological norms that our social system regards as fundamental.

[Question] How can we resolve this contradiction?

[Answer] The fact that numerous debates are taking place in our society outside the existing framework unquestionably indicates a conflict situation whose continuation could lead in the long run to an anarchy of views. Sooner or later, then, society will have to resolve this conflict. The safest way to do this is to try to channel these debates into the existing political organizational framework. Anyone who advocates muzzling our youth is on the wrong path. Although I too am dissatisfied with today's Hungarian youth because they too, like the other strata of society, have forgotten how to engage in politics (or more accurately, they have never learned how to do so), and because their debates are often primitive and pompous, I believe that this can be the only solution. We must achieve the replacement of such distorted politics with meaningful politics. We must lead the efforts and gradually develop realistic common values.

Docent Dr Jozsef Gondi

(Philosophy Department, Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences)

[Answer] Our opinion of youth, and their self-assessment as well, has changed much during the past 10 to 15 years. In the late 1960's, I often had the impression that many of the students--more of them than today--revealed practically nothing of what they disagreed with, or did not agree with entirely, regarding socialism and Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, most of the young people who were influential (by virtue of their office or personality) heeded constructively and concurringly the views expressed by the leaders of the party and society, and the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. And they not only heeded these views, but they also strived to popularize them, to get their fellow students to accept them. But many of them, of course, lacked the necessary critical attitude.

So far as the majority or "mass" of students were concerned, they were not particularly inclined or interested even then to delve deeply into ideological and political questions, but they were more active. The sense of collectiveness was stronger. Although perfunctorily in many respects, the KISZ locals were functioning nonetheless. Naturally, their attention was focused primarily on everyday practical problems. Of course, we encountered much uncertainty and many mixed viewpoints then as well, i.e., our conceptions were mixtures of scientific socialism, utopistic socialism, bourgeois democracy, idealism, or various other bourgeois views.

The process that accelerated, I believe, three or four years back and is still continuing, began about 10 to 15 years ago. A principal characteristic of this change--or rather trend--is that the aforementioned positive identifications have emerged from the influential circle; and, setting the prevailing tone almost exclusively in some places, there have appeared those in whom a constructive critical behavior is by no means always the dominant. Naturally, I do not regard critical behavior as negative, always and in every respect. There are several sides to this question. It includes also warranted criticism of real mistakes and shortcomings; or, we might say, criticism based on Marxist principles. (There are many such young people even today, but they have been forced into the background or into passivity.) But I include here also those who criticise from an entirely different standpoint. For today there are many persons who see only the things that should be criticized, who represent some sort of utopistic socialist or bourgeois democratic standpoint, and they are joined also by those who voice liberal bourgeois views and criticize on that basis.

As before, the "mass" of students are not very political. But whereas ten years ago this was accompanied by a kind of practical (constructive in everyday life) introversion, today uncertainty, atomization, skepticism, hopelessness and occasionally cynism have become typical. The KISZ locals have practically ceased to function. But an unquestionably favorable element is that today more students openly profess their views and argue in their support; in other words, they are more frank and sincere than before.

[Question] To what do you attribute this?

[Answer] I regard as essentially natural the fact itself that today the picture is so heterogeneous within entire society, and hence also among university students. In building socialism, we have not advanced as far as we expected even ten years ago. Today's serious tensions in world politics, our specific domestic difficulties and weaknesses, the debates on them that often contradict their own essence, and the effects of the individuals' microenvironment (family environment)--all these are essential causes of this awareness. Many members of the elder generation tend to treat their political reservations as a private matter; they also know or sense intuitively the inherent dangers (but quite a few of them are overcautious). But some of the young people are striving to synchronize the manifestations of their private lives and public lives, often failing to see or disregarding the potentially harmful and dangerous consequences of this.

[Question] In your opinion, then, the present situation is essentially natural. But you nevertheless mention danger. Wording the question with considerable simplification, what do you fear for and from what?

[Answer] From the fact that many persons' awareness of socialism is such it does not follow that we should not do everything to improve it as soon as possible. What do I fear for and from what? First of all, I fear for the truth, for the lasting principles of Marxism-Leninism, from distortion and relativization, which could compromise also the consistent application of these principles. And in the debates it often became necessary to establish that a given standpoint was not in accord with the truth, with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, although in most cases the authors claimed that they wanted to modernize socialism and Marxism. In my opinion, for example, the theory urging the replacement of socialism's political power, of its working-class content, with pluralistic power is such, irreconcilable with Marxism. Or a "radical" reform of higher education, under which Samuelson's textbook would be the required introduction to Marxist economics, while Lenin would be only elective. Don't misunderstand, I am not questioning the right to a separate opinion. What I am objecting to is to have all this announced before public forums as Marxism, as the "improvement of socialism."

At the same time I fear from such views also for the political and practical unity of our people and youth, a unity that is linked to our socialist reality. For although the more conscious strata are influential, even in the "confused" consciousness of the much wider mass the positive elements strengthen and determine our social activities. But if petit-bourgeois, utopistic, eclectic, oppositionary and semioppositionary views are reinforced and gain influence, they will harm the cause of socialism.

The fact that the youth of today, fortunately, has not lived through any serious political danger, and therefore its sense of political danger is not and cannot be developed, only intensifies my concern. Many people, for example, do not see any danger even in that the foreign enemies of socialism are supporting and approving of these same utopistic socialist and petit-bourgeois democratic views that are gaining prominence. (It must be admitted, however, that lately the extreme trends have become somewhat more moderate.)

[Question] How is it possible to resolve the contradiction that we do not question one's right of opinion, but regard the spreading of erroneous views as politically dangerous? Probably today there are many "confused heads" among the politically active students, and perhaps deviation from Marxism also can be found among them, but generally a desire to do something and a certain kind of intention to improve probably are characteristic of these young people as well. In your opinion, how would it be possible to draw these influential people and their views into the whole picture, into serving the cause?

[Answer] I think that what is acceptable in principle in their standpoint should be accepted. If some of their views are acceptable in principle but cannot be realized under the specific conditions, or their realization might even prove harmful, they must be told so in open debate, with suitable arguments. We must try to convince even anyone whose standpoint is unacceptable in principle and harmful in practice; but if he does not let himself be convinced, then everything that he advocates--in my opinion, erroneously--must be actively attacked so that the majority will realize that what this person stands for is wrong and harmful, and will remove this person from his position of influence or will curb him. And what is the most important: we must promote more decisively the lasting basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and must lead in the Marxist interpretation of the changing world and of its consequences, and in mobilizing and convincing activity that is indispensable to practical application.

[Question] I have asked the preceding question also because I know many university students who, I am convinced, have no intention of opposing the system. They are dissatisfied at most only with the everyday practice of the socialism experienced in Hungary, and they would not even think of wishing the restoration of capitalism in Hungary. Yet, they welcome the outspoken articles and the widening of the circle within which one may think, and they find it unacceptable that they may move only along a single path that has been blazed in advance.

[Answer] We know very well that personal good intentions and a theory's real social content and impact do not always coincide. We must always assume the good intention, until its opposite has been proved. But one thing is certain: if a standpoint differs from Marxism either entirely or in part, and perhaps even contrary to the person's intention, then we must say so; among other reasons, to make the person aware of the difference. An alliance is in bad shape that does not endure frank words and open debate.

Incidentally, it is very proper if people are dissatisfied with the erroneous or weak elements of the practice in our country--I too am dissatisfied--and it is gratifying that people welcome outspoken articles and frank words. We must take better cognizance of this than up to now, and must ensure greater understanding and wider freedom of movement for such articles. The trouble is when they view our system only as a heap of mistakes and want to present our system in this light to others as well; when only the sincere tone of the article or contribution is praised, but its real content is not examined and its mistakes are not pointed out, while Marxist thinking is regarded merely as a "blazed path," a limiting factor. This I regard as a shift in emphasis that is dangerous, in my opinion, one that we must combat at all cost.

Dr Miklos Ivanyi
(Deputy Rector of Instruction, Budapest Technical University)

[Answer] I would like to point out by way of introduction that my answers to your questions apply predominantly and primarily to students of Budapest Technical University, since this is the school where I am working.

A basic requirement of the university toward its students is that they know what they are studying for, what goal they are undertaking, and how they will be able to fulfill with their particular means the tasks that stem for them from building socialism. But I must immediately emphasize that "to live as a university student" is a very specific way of life.

University students are basically adults whose everyday duties--even in comparison with other social strata in the same age group--are very specific (there is no time clock to punch, they do not have to keep abreast, their tasks have to be fulfilled within a semester or at least within months, etc.). The university student, unlike the worker, is not expected to have a crystallized final opinion. A worker who takes a job must become, within weeks or months, the full-fledged master of the area entrusted to his care. The university student's business, even years later, is to be a "professional ignorant" who admittedly does not know a number of things, to whom many things must be explained (after all, that is why he is here), who may ask many questions and frequently express his opinion. At the same time, the university student's "principal tool" and main form of manifestation--besides reading, attending lectures or, at our university, solving problems and laboratory assignments--is talk. He asks, reasons, sums up, and argues. And he does this constantly, in an intensively close collective that is again without parallel in society, perhaps with the sole exception of the army. A resident student lives practically his entire (university) life within the same environment! And this is again important because it accustoms the student to behavior that differs from the norms of social conduct, is more relaxed, less formal, and more free-spoken. And if we add to this their intensive attitude that is typical of young people--of wanting to redeem the world, of clinging stubbornly to their own views, and of judging everything by their own standards--then we obviously are dealing with a very complicated, specific social stratum.

In my opinion, those who so readily declare that "there is trouble with the university students" do not take this specific situation into account, or at least do not think of it. And they likewise do not stop to wonder whether another young person of the same age but in a different occupation, who seems to be quiet because, say, his job does not require much talk, will always assume the set of requirements that society expects him to meet. An extremely free-spoken contrasting opinion might be irritating or cause political concern, but we nonetheless should be glad it has at least been said, unless it violates grossly and with inimical intent the results that our people have achieved through hard work, the fundamental ideas of our socialist principles, or the basic norms of humane morals and good taste. Just as every effort must be made to answer as thoroughly and frankly as possible the questions raised in this manner, for at least they have been raised!

[Question] University and college students are trying to comprehend and are talking and arguing not only now, but have been doing so 10 or 20 years ago as

well. In other words, this form is not new. But why has this fear of "oppositional behavior" arisen only now? I wonder how the manner in which students raise political and ideological questions has changed over time?

[Answer] Many things unquestionably are different now than they were years ago. In the meantime, however, the world too has changed completely. Consider first of all the university students themselves. This is the first generation in modern history whose basic historical experience has been very specific, "conflict-free" if you wish. Colleagues who are my elders by 15 to 20 years gained the most important impressions of their youth during World War II and in the 1950's. My generation became conscious in 1956-1957: we received a brief but condensed historical lesson that did not vanish without a trace. Young people in their twenties have had no such experience, not even in their childhood (and let me add: fortunately). Some social scientists even refer to the 1970's, the decade that formed this generation's particular world, as the decade of tranquility, of the "glass bell." They have never had to consider the question of where they belong. Thus their world outlook lacks also a "spatial" comparison with the present. They perceive and speak out on such superficial phenomena as, for example, the problems of our technological development or the situation of the Hungarian minorities in other countries. But most of them would be perplexed if asked to assess our society's present overall situation (in comparison with other countries and other social systems).

Thus we are dealing with a generation whose situation is specific in many respects, a generation that almost always starts out from its momentary impressions, with sincere zeal and momentum. And if we add to this that the earlier "glass-bell protection" has been shattered drastically by today's complicated reality, which is burdened day after day by economic, political and even world-political problems and conflicts, then it is understandable that this type of behavior and attitude, as a defense reaction, becomes more conspicuous and perhaps acquires different acoustics than the critical behavior of years past.

[Question] In your opinion, then, the behavior of most students today merely reflects their "student nature," with the frankness that can be expected of them. Under the present more sensitive economic and political situation, this behavior might be more striking, but as a basic political position it cannot be regarded as oppositionary.

[Answer] I regard as an oppositionist a person who deliberately opposes. Who deliberately denies, or perhaps attacks from another standpoint, the values we regard as the foundation of our present social system. It is my conviction and experience that there are very few such oppositionists at our university. And the ones that can be found usually are prompted from abroad. The majority of the students are not like this; they are simply students. Of course, the danger always exists that occasional problems and concerns, and the possible dissatisfaction they generate, might accumulate and--beyond a certain point--might spontaneously change their quality into deliberate critical opposition. But I believe that we are far from this critical point, at least at our university.

[Question] Many people believe that hasty and unsubstantiated criticism is at least as dangerous. It might stem originally from good intentions, but in the final outcome it undermines the values and norms that we regard as fundamental.

[Answer] This is generally true. But when it is applied to university students, it is necessary to take into consideration also the already mentioned many specific, peculiar features. It is not enough to watch what people are saying; it is also necessary to see who is saying it. This, of course, cannot be absolutized, for we would be falling into the other extreme. But it must unquestionably be taken into consideration in assessing university students. For if our students, from a professional viewpoint, are allowed to ask all kinds of questions, to ponder, and often to talk nonsense or to prepare ill-conceived technical plans that cannot be implemented, then the same thing cannot be taken amiss from them in their approach to social, political and economic problems. At most we "set them straight" when necessary, as we do on professional questions. We must be able to convince them also on political issues. But in no case should their frank manifestations be treated or regarded as views opposed to our social system.

[Question] And what guaranty is there that, beyond a certain point, the accumulating problems, concerns and criticisms will not switch over into a different quality?

[Answer] This stratum's tendency to criticize can be said to be its natural penchant. This criticism in itself can serve progress, or it can be destructive. And, as we have mentioned, it can lead to extremes. The direction this criticism takes is influenced first of all by the external environment. And this is where the instructors' responsibility enters into the picture! I am convinced that university students can be educated in a positive direction specifically through their tendency to criticize; even though I know that if university students are sensitive to anything, it is to being manipulated. Thus when I speak of "educating" the students, I have in mind primarily the setting of a good example for them, and real and true arguments. If we merely lecture the students, contradict them, repeat cliches to them, or if we do not pay any attention to the questions, circumvent them or neglect to answer them, then it is almost certain that we will be steering the students in the wrong, undesired (and perhaps actually oppositionary) direction. But if we sit down to talk with them patiently, and especially very frankly, then we can indeed exert our influence.

So long as we are able to establish and maintain a close partnership with the students, I think we do not have to fear the danger mentioned in your question.

Dr Ivan Szenes

(Deputy Dean, Faculty of General Medicine, Semmelweis Medical University)

[Answer] When investigating the political profile of university students, we must realize first of all that practically no two classes of university students are alike. The students' mentality changes almost with each year: the students of one class are more critical, those of the next class are more concerned with their studies. The students I am teaching now, for example, are exceptionally well trained and inquisitive professionally, and I am unable to recall a team equal to them during the past 20 years. But politically they are reticent, critical, and often mistrustful of the official standpoint. On the other hand--and this is again something new--they are also more open: if

they feel that the answers to their questions are frank and the arguments valid, they are willing to accept them and do not adhere rigidly and at all cost to their own standpoints. After all, by the time this generation (born between 1960 and 1962) started to look around in the world, detente was already in full swing; at home the living standard had risen perceptibly; everything was well balanced and there was a certain general sense of optimism. And then there came setbacks in the political mood and in the economy as well, which now is understandably irritating them. They have no historical experience, but are receiving negative impulses that generate questions and criticism. Basically these are their characteristics, but I do not regard this as oppositionary behavior.

If we prepare a political map of the 400 students in this year's graduating class, we find that about 7 percent of them are party members, and at least another 7 percent could have been members but were omitted from admission for some reason or other. These two groups are professionally well trained, and also see clearly politically and are dedicated. Besides them, the overwhelming majority of the students are less political, but they too take their studies seriously. They regard socialism as their natural environment, and if they object to some things, they all happen to be things foreign to socialism. Such things can be practically anything, ranging from unearned income and inadequate health care, to perhaps the improper conduct of some instructor. It is true that occasionally they might be influenced by some oppositionary view. But my experience is that if we take seriously such manifestations of theirs and start to argue with them meaningfully, in the overwhelming majority of the cases they will let themselves become convinced.

There is also a thin stratum that question socialism's justification; in their opinion, we would have come this far (and perhaps even farther) even without socialism; to them, the Horthy era was a peaceful bourgeois period; and they also view with doubt or mistrust our international allies. With this stratum we obviously must argue forcefully, as it would not be enough to simply answer their questions. But we cannot regard even them as an outright (organized) opposition. Their views unquestionably are oppositionary, but our experience is that they too are purposefully striving to become professionally well trained doctors in our society.

Therefore I am convinced that we must take action against the views, not the individuals. A frequently quoted earlier statement by Janos Kadar advises us to "Hit the mistakes, not the people." I too subscribe to this view and say: if someone does not act as a deliberate enemy of our social system but is merely confused or holds oppositionary views--because he was influenced by them through the Western press, for example--then I will not attack him in his person but will try to change his views. In such cases I usually say: "I am arguing not with you, but with your views."

The problem nevertheless is very complicated. For if we do not oppose an erroneous view, it will freely live on and perhaps even spread, influencing others as well. But if we brand as an oppositionist a person who has no intention of being one but merely holds distorted views, after a time we ourselves might make him a deliberate oppositionist, by treating him as one. Naturally, all this cannot lead to political naiveness, to glossing over every view and situation in an unprincipled manner.

[Question] In the final outcome, what should be done?

[Answer] I have already mentioned that our young people today are exposed also to considerable negative influences. Some of these influences directly affect their well-being; while others, their mentality. Our task is to discuss these topics always frankly with the young people, and we must have specific, real arguments to orient them in the right direction. For example, in recent years there has been an increase in domestic reminiscences that analyze the Horthy era. A series of memoirs, films and plays is being presented to the young people, with each author offering a different view and approach. If we want an uninformed student in his twenties to be able to find his bearings amidst this diversity of views, then we must sit down and talk with him, point out the general interrelations of this period and then try to clarify also its details. In other words, we must protect the student from falsifications of history, smuggled in in the guise of nostalgia.

Another important admonition is that reality must never be simplified. We must give shaded answers to the students' questions, otherwise they will reject our answers or at least might become confused. Today, for example, they are being confronted simultaneously with statements such as "The international situation has never been so tense since 1945" and "The achievements of detente are unshakeable." A person just beginning to read newspapers obviously is unable to digest both statements. He can be expected to ask questions. Anyone answering them can cause serious harm if "for the sake of simplicity" he absolutizes one or the other side of the problem in his answer, instead of presenting the problem in its complexity.

Thus I personally favor a partnership, open and frank discussion, on the principle of Attila Jozsef's line that has become a maxim: "I am angry for you, not at you." I am convinced that in this way we can successfully counter even views that might seem extreme, without having to discard a young person who might be very valuable professionally. But one thing is certain: it is entirely impossible for everyone to keep repeating his own views, without paying any heed to what the others are saying. When arguing with students, the method I employ, and often tell them so, is as follows: All right, I will try to understand what you are saying and I concede the negative things you have listed; but in return you too must consider the facts, reasons and interrelations that I present. A dialog of the deaf will not take us far in politics. On the other hand, it has happened repeatedly that to a student professing some view divorced from Marxism and reality I have been able to present a counterargument that immediately started him thinking wordlessly. And if a student starts thinking about what we have said, it was worth saying. This can be the road to mutual understanding, and eventually to active--but still critical, of course--cooperation.

1014

CSO: 2500/290

CARDINAL GLEMP DISCUSSES CHURCH GOALS

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 11, 11 Mar 84 p 8

[Interview with Cardinal Glemp by Andrzej Micewski for the Czestochowa weekly NIEDZIELA, No 10, 1984: "The Church's Tasks in Poland"]

[Text] [Question] Your eminence, the world is interested in the Polish Church but not always from the most essential aspect of the church's activity. An overly one-sided, political view of its role comes about. Therefore, I would like first of all to ask about the most important thing, namely the main currents of pastoral work in the Polish episcopate in the near future.

[Answer] Indeed, moneyed and numerous sources of transmission impose a one-sided picture of the church on public opinion. I myself am very painfully aware of this, since the interpretation of the church's role only in political terms is that "half-truth" against which society should defend itself. The church's activity is multifaceted because the church is a living entity in a living society, and yet the basic dimension of its activity is the mission set by its founder--Jesus Christ--or the propagation of the Gospels and Evangelists, the discharge of worship and the dispensation of sacraments, and the gathering of believers, as well as the creation of a hierarchical community--this is the true ministry.

/The Cardinal devoted a significant part of the interview granted to Andrzej Micewski for the Czestochowa weekly NIEDZIELA to the subject of the ministry, concentrating above all on the period before the approaching turn of the century, for which his analogy was the once-upon-a-time year of 1000, with its famous pilgrimage by Emperor Otto III to the tomb of Saint Wojciech of Gniezno. For after all, today as long ago, problems are not straightforward and the social life of the church continually intersects with the life of the nation, and--as the cardinal put it--"The ministry's entry into the social context has its own style for us in Poland, because it is linked with national feelings and has been imbued with these from time immemorial." So the talk was not confined exclusively to internal church matters. At midpoint, the talk was given up to external matters: excerpts of the cardinal's statement are quoted here verbatim. / [In italics]

"You are bringing up an enormously important question. Those who regard the church through political lenses want to see its unity as a parliament voting

unanimously: if one hand refrains from voting, already there is division. This habit of a parliamentary outlook is readily carried over to the church, whereas these analogies do not fit the church. The people in the church, especially those in the hierarchy, are pleased with a greater range of tolerance in views. This is possible because of the principles immanent in them. With regard to the hierarchical church in Poland, it is rooted in the simultaneous universality and parochialism of the church. While vacillations and crises in other particular churches can be noted, the Polish Church has not lived through any internal indecision. This is also the reason why outside observers of the church are so impatiently awaiting dissent and division and why they are so willing to reproach the Polish Church at all costs. This is an old device of the enemy: Divide! There will be talk about the clash between the pope and the episcopate, about the disagreements among the bishops, about the discord becoming evident between a bishop and the ministry, and so on. In indicating possible divisions, political authorities on the church avoid the religious-church sphere, knowing that here they will not be able to shake unity, so they readily expose moral-national problems. In this sphere, however, the Polish episcopate holds a very strong trump card, namely the historical unity of the church and nation, and the rich experience of the postwar years, in which God assigned a leading role to the late Polish primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. The Holy Father, although today he is the head of the Universal Church, takes his attitude toward matters of the nation and the church from the 'school' of Primate Wyszyński. Even the youngest of the Polish bishops today also belongs to this 'school.' The specific character of this 'school' is, above all, faith in God through Mary, not just faith in human cleverness. This provides an understanding of suffering and patience in adversity. One cannot forget here about the unpleasantnesses, attacks, and slander which have been vehemently directed against the late primate in certain periods, and not only by his ideological adversaries. Finally, a feature of this 'school' is a broad and perspective outlook on the affairs of the church in the context of human affairs. Cardinal Wyszyński never regarded the nation selectively, in terms of groups, but embraced it in the broadest historical and geographical universalism possible. Today as well the church regards Poland in the same way. The main contribution which it makes is the ministry. It is a gift significantly more important than instrumental service to any one group. It is also a principle of internal unity--and so of a unity which is deep and not merely instant, like a brief in the television news.

"Many misunderstandings exist about the creation of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See. Here again political optics decide things, although in this case the subject is truly political. Nevertheless, a look at the specific character of the church in Poland is indispensable.

"As one of the largest European powers in the ages preceding the partitions--especially in the 15th and 16th centuries--Poland has a rich history of papal nunciatures and Polish embassies. The Apostolic See, as the foremost organ of the church, knows its own history perfectly well, knows its connections with the present, and that is why currently it misses that Polish element filled with history--papal nunciatures in Poland, or, speaking more popularly, formal representation.

"Speaking of establishing diplomatic relations among us, we ought to be aware that we are not starting from scratch. Certainly, we already have a substantial history, for as of 1966 we have had actual relations--in other words, so-called working contacts--between representatives of the Apostolic See and the Government of the PRL. To give them an official character, which undoubtedly has significance in the sphere of international politics, we nevertheless need to complete our range of activity, which necessitates the right action.

"You yourself have recalled the great national problems which still exist, as well as the matter of political prisoners, the lack of internal cohesion in society, the lack of mutual trust--all this seems to be out of accord with the appearance of normalization, an expression of which would undoubtedly be the establishing of diplomatic relations. At the same time, we cannot rule out the fact that negotiations in the matter of establishing diplomatic relations will be influential in tempering those manifestations of the crisis which are causing human suffering. We know that the Holy Father would rejoice if his fatherland were to take its place in the ranks of the sovereign protector of the rights of faith and ethics--the Apostolic See. But until Poland enters these ranks formally, Catholics in Poland want an equal formal recognition of the church in the actuality of the nation.

"You mention 'the necessity for national reconciliation.' Certainly this makes sense, but not as popularly understood. Personally I see a great difficulty in arriving at a reconciliation as a voluntary agreement for mutual concessions. Therefore, I myself do not speak of a reconciliation in order not to be misunderstood. In the current stage of our moral-social crisis, one might speak instead of the need for coexistence amidst conflicts. In the midst of these conflicts, the church must not only rescue love but also make it triumph, for this is precisely the triumph of good over evil. Whoever does not understand this basic truth about the tasks of the church might in actuality believe naively that the church sneakily wishes to acquire political influence. We are far from having such intentions, although we recognize the right of lay Catholics to public activity."

12460

CS0: 2600/886

MILITIA COMMANDER DISCUSSES ANTICRIME MEASURES

AU281324 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 84 pp 1, 2

[Statement by Brigadier General Jozef Bejm, commander in chief of the Citizens Militia, made to Krystyna Chrupek: "Only Social and Legal Order Can Improve Public Life"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The rule of law, the struggle against crime, and security for citizens were among the important subjects of the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, at which many proposals were made to ensure peace and order for the people. The RZECZPOSPOLITA editorial board asked Brigadier General J. Bejm, who is chairman of the Commission for Citizens, Law and Order, and Public Security, which is a body of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observing Law, Public, and Social Discipline, to make a statement on that subject.

[Bejm] First I would like to recapitulate the duties of the committee and the tasks of the commission of which I am in charge. The range of our tasks is very extensive because of the complicated legal and social problems stemming from political, economic, and even demographic and other problems. However, our goal is to accelerate the process of uniting the people and the state apparatus for activities to improve public order. We want to focus collective efforts on the task of most widely preventing any violations of the laws. The nature of those efforts is new to the practice of the state administration.

As for our achievements, my commission has devoted its attention to the rule of law on the railroads and to protecting property in transportation because railroad crime is one of the chief dangers to our state's economic order and interests.

Since 19 December 1983, the militia as well as other bodies have continued intensive countrywide operations known as "Passenger," "Order on Railroads," "Semaphore," "Blockade," and "Revisor." The extent of those operations is illustrated by some statistics: about 51,000 facilities, over 37,000 passenger trains, almost 28,000 freight trains, and over 139,000 freight cars carrying small cargo and valuable mail were inspected. Almost 156,000 persons were identified, about 9,000 persons suspected of crimes or offenses were detained, and about 100,000 crimes, offenses, and irregularities were

ascertained. Some 4,272 drunken persons were removed from the railroad premises, over 8,000 applications were made to lay courts to try and punish various offenses, over 34,000 fines worth some 214.5 million were imposed, 3,866 serious technical breakdown in facilities and cars were ascertained and immediately remedied, 1,186 reports on various matters were made to the railroad authorities, and many observations and proposals were addressed to them.

Those operations were supported by some 140,000 functionaries of the militia, the motorized militia, by the units of the Armed Forces, Internal Troops, and the Frontier Guard, by Railroad Protection Service, by representatives of the Voluntary Militia, and by citizens.

As for the fuel economy, our operations in this area are limited to reconnaissance because we want to obtain an exact picture of the places and circumstances that are most favorable to crime. If countermeasures are to be successful, they must be applied precisely in such places and circumstances. The operations have so far been supported by many bodies and institutions, including the State Trade Inspectorate, the Main Inspectorate of Energy, the Automobile Inspectorate, the Ministries of Communications and Chemical Industry, the Militia, the Supreme Chamber of Control, prosecutors, as well as citizens, who are very important in this regard.

We have carried out over 1,000 public and other control checks at gasoline stations and registered various offenses, of which the following are dominant: sales of gasoline without ration cards, profiteering on gasoline rationing, unregistered gasoline stocks, and unaccounted for shortages of gasoline. We make no secret of the fact that the situation in that regard is bad, that abuses are rife, and that dishonest personnel and commission agents dealing with the gasoline distribution continue to make illegal fortunes. Our operations result not only in discovering abuses in the fuels distribution but also in severe punishment of culprits by the courts and in the necessary measures to prevent a recurrence of such crimes.

As for truck transportation, comprehensive control actions are continuing in the bases of transportation enterprises and on public highways in 15 voivodships. Initial results show that over 50 percent of transportation bases are guilty of various irregularities, especially with regard to transportation records and fuel transaction. The so-called empty runs continue as attested to by the fact that about 17 percent of trucks carry no loads on their return trips. Over 11 percent of controlled trucks did not satisfy the safety requirements.

At present we are implementing a long-term program for improving the rule of law and citizens' safety in public places and at home. The social system of preventing social ills and offenses against the laws--this system is very complicated and its effectiveness varies--needs to be tightened in its functions. It is very difficult to improve overnight the rule of law in the streets in towns and villages, the safety of citizens using public transportation, or the measures against the danger of crimes.

Our program recapitulates which duties apply to whom and shows how the effectiveness of the tasks of the administrative bodies, institutions, and social organizations in ensuring the rule of law should be measured. The struggle against crimes and crime-associated phenomena must not be the domain of only the prosecuting bodies, as has been the case so far. What should primarily be done is to remove the sources of social ills and to take intensive prevention measures. That means that it is necessary to couple the work of all the administrative bodies concerned with the work of social organizations and large segments of citizens. We will place exacting demands on those who are legally responsible for order and discipline.

In view of that I think that the joint efforts of my commission and the bodies cooperating with it will make progress in ensuring for our people the peace and quiet that is necessary if we are going to painstakingly overcome our social and economic crisis. It is of vital interest to us that representatives of our people participate to the largest possible extent in the work of my commission. We are ready to respond to any initiative. We will tackle the problems of the central interest to our people and respond to their most urgent needs.

The National PZPR Delegates Conference has provided new incentives for us in our work. My committee is about to analyze in detail the conference's resolutions, instructions, and conclusions. We want to study in detail all the statements and proposals concerning public order and safety. There were many such statements and proposals. We can already say that there is still much for us to do. We want to do it most conscientiously in order to ensure peace and order for our people.

CSO: 2600/957

PZPR POLITBURO DISCUSSES NATIONAL DELEGATES' CONFERENCE

LD271748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Mar 84

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has considered a report on and discussed the course of the National Conference of Delegates, and has defined the directional tasks for party echelons and organizations that evolve from it. It was stated that the National Conference of Delegates was an extremely important political event and generated a great deal of interest among party members and people of no party, and in various social milieus. The delegates' speeches were steeped in concern for the good of the country. Many pointers for party work up to the next congress emerged from the speeches. They represent the essential achievement of the conference. The Politburo recommended that the Central Committee departments carry out further work in the conference materials. These will also be the subject of work in the Central Committee commissions. The resultant conclusions should be consistently implemented in practice.

The activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] to consolidate society and the development of various civic initiatives was made known. It was stated that the scope of the movement's activity is expanding and that the participation of people of no party is increasing: It is becoming an authentic platform for cooperation for the good of socialist Poland. In accordance with the intentions of the National Conference of Delegates, the Politburo stressed the significance of active participation in the PRON by party members.

The full text of the communique will be carried in tomorrow's press.

CSO: 2600/958

CC MEMBER CRITICIZES EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

AU301405 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 Mar 84 p 5

[From the press review compiled by ('ak)': "Obstacles and Possibilities"]

[Text] PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY [Technical Magazine, issue unspecified] published an interview given by Dr Henryk Domzal, PZPR Central Committee member and member of the academic staff of the Agricultural Academy in Lublin, to Daniela Baszkiewicz [date and place not given], proposing the following formula for the reorganization of Polish education and the creation of opportunities for young people:

"Now is the time to rid ourselves of average students and this must be done at the earliest possible stage of their studies--before they even write their dissertation. Those who are capable and studious but who are not mentally predisposed to academic work as a career should be given the opportunity to leave the profession after the completion of their doctorates, with honors, and go into school teaching, industry, and other things. However, I am sorry to say that the reluctance shown by people with doctorates to leave their college work is to some degree justified, for I am familiar with situations in industry in which a person with a degree has been subject to attempts to prove that 'despite the fact that he has a degree--he is still very stupid.' Moreover, today in education there are too few young people who are prepared to fight for the assistant lecturer's post; the system of identifying their talents is also too weak. This is why the inverted pyramid law functions so efficiently in Poland, because for every assistant lecturer who is completing a PhD, there are several academic staff members. The inverted pyramid not only limits the promotion of young people, but also the development and achievements of independent academic staff. If I had to summarize the current Polish education system in two words, then I would say that its most characteristic features are its negative selection process, and its feudal promotion system."

CSO: 2600/959

STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS DESCRIBED

AU131225 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw S. Debski: "Student Self-Government Bodies--Test of Student Community's Civic Maturity"]

[Excerpts] The law on university-level schools adopted in May 1982, was a signal for setting up the legal foundations of self-government bodies in universities. The second stage of that process, which is now nearing its end, was to formulate the statutes of university-level schools and the regulations on how to implement that law.

Academic self-government is becoming a fact, and the coming months will show whether our students and scientific workers are able to properly exploit their opportunities for developing their schools and the country, since this is why university-level schools have been granted special regulations governing their functioning.

However, the experience to date of that process is disturbing. Many university-level schools and faculties have done nothing to set up self-government bodies or have had to cancel the appropriate elections because of the legally insufficient number of voters. As I was told in the Agricultural Academy in Olsztyn, students there did elect representatives--even though their interest in that election was feeble--but did nothing more.

The procedures by which self-government regulations are approved and the students' feeble interest in them are the reasons why so far only five student self-government bodies have been elected, one of them in the Academy of Economics in Krakow.

All students are members of the self-government body of that academy. The body represents the students before the academic authorities, sponsors and supports activities to ensure that academic instruction is correct, sees that living and study conditions are favorable, and takes care of the student scientific and cultural movement. A council elected through a universal vote is in charge of the work done by the academy's self-government body.

However, some students are not always correctly aware of the nature of the self-government body. It happens that draft regulations pertaining to such a body include formulations that are in conflict with the powers granted to students.

For example, the regulations of the self-government body at A. Mieczkiewicz University state that the body is independent of the university authorities, state administration, and so on. The university senate did not approve of that, because self-government bodies operate within the organization of university-level schools and because the law on these schools stipulates that collegiate and one-person agencies are superior to student self-government bodies.

It should also be noted that student self-government bodies are not political organizations and have no political powers. Some self-government organizers forget in their efforts to monopolize self-government and to make it an exclusive representation of students that self-government bodies are only some of the institutions that make an impact on the life of universities and that these institutions also include the university authorities as well as social, political, youth, and other organizations.

In some university-level schools the activists of the former Independent Students Association are included in the self-government bodies. If they want to work in accordance with the norms governing the life of state universities, I do not see anything wrong in this; but the fact is that those activists try at times to exploit self-government bodies to promote their own political goals. That is why they are trying to hem in those bodies with organizational structures and material resources and to maximally extend their powers. It is they who are seeking to deny the impact of the socialist youth unions on student affairs. All that is against the law on university-level schools and in conflict with the interests of the student community. It does not favor the integration of that community.

Self-government bodies must be set up from the bottom upward, the activists of the Polish Student Association assert. That is why attempts to make self-government regulations uniform cannot be accepted. Such attempts are quite obvious if we compare regulations proposed in a number of universities. Nor is it possible to accept the attempts by small groups of students--who exploit the idea of self-government in order to deny the existing social order and to combat student organizations--to set up self-government bodies. We must bear in mind that those bodies are only a kind of forum in which the positions of various communities, groups, and organizations can be coordinated. That is why the first thing to do is to ensure that all students, no matter to which organization they belong, are able to influence the decisions made at universities.

The process of creating the legal bases for the functioning of student self-government bodies continues. The practice to date has shown that it is necessary to define exactly the powers of those bodies and their place in the entire structure of university-level schools. We cannot allow student self-government bodies to be exploited for oppositional political purposes, because in such a case they will tend to disintegrate rather than integrate the student community. Most students are for integration.

CSO: 2600/956

YOUTH LEADER LAMENTS LACK OF INTEREST IN ELECTIONS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Apr 84 p 4

[Interview with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, by Roman Chocyk; date and place not specified]

[Text] We are at the threshold of an important political event, the elections to the people's councils. We are speaking with Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], about preparations for the event and the role of youth in these preparations.

[Question] The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party, and later the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, pointed to the necessity of working out guarantees of youth's role in formulating programs for the country's development, in undertaking important political decisions, of increasing its role in all forms of social and workers' self-government. A number of such guarantees already exists, but they in themselves are not able to effect the desired changes. This situation is also influenced by the initiative and political activity of the young themselves.

[Answer] The awareness of this interdependence is more and more widespread among youth, but it must be admitted that it is still insufficient. In some circles, there still remain attitudes of discouragement, a feeling of a lack of influence on the matters of the state and society.

In the case of the elections to the people's councils, this is associated with an insufficient knowledge of the qualitative change which has taken place with regard to the previous operations, in the new electoral law as well as in the political situation of the people's councils. The councils will now have much greater independence and will make decisions on almost everything which concerns their area of activity. Non-participation in the councils would mean for youth a detachment from the possibilities of influencing the decisions undertaken, including those connected with the solution of problems of the young generation.

Therefore, our union is putting much effort into disseminating this conviction, shaping the attitudes of politically involved citizens, and increasing the

knowledge of the resolution on the people's councils. To this purpose we began, among other efforts, a broadly based schooling of the active element and members of the union, the appropriate informational materials were worked out, and meetings were held with former councilmen. Accompanying this, in the framework of the recently inaugurated "Spring of Social Initiatives" is the increased activity of all units of the union for their own community, their local populace.

[Question] The new electoral law considerably broadens the number of groups having the right to declare their own candidates. This favors socialist youth unions, and thus the ZSMP. In the past term, councilmen representing youth constituted over 23 percent of the members of the provincial councils, 17 percent at the local level. Will it be possible to attain this figure now? In what way and using what criteria will the ZSMP be able to present its candidates for councilmen?

[Answer] With the present electoral procedure, announcing a candidate is not enough. These persons, who gain the approval of public opinion, must really be the best ones.

After all, each will be the subject of consultation and evaluation at pre-election meetings and, at the recommendation of the electors, may be removed from the list of candidates. They also must be representative for a given community, an entire local populace, and not only for youth.

In the union, we have accepted the principle that the presentation of candidates for councilmen should occur in as democratic a way as possible. ZSMP circles will do this at meetings of worker collectives, and in homes. All members will have the possibility of expressing themselves as to the moral and personal qualifications of the nominees. In the work of the councils, a certain element of continuity is necessary. Therefore, we do not intend to revoke the candidacies of the present councilmen whose work and attitude we have evaluated positively.

The need to increase the role of youth in the councils exists. This was stressed in the resolutions of the National Conference of Delegates of the PZPR. I think that they should constitute 25-30 percent in the councils. Of course, it will not be easy to guarantee such representation. There is no "pass key" to these positions, and competition will be great. Thus, the qualities of the candidates, their social activity to date, and knowledge of the problems of the community will be decisive. What will also count will be the activity of the young voters, their role in the pre-election meetings, and by this the influence on the decisions of electoral bodies, and participation in the election-related activities of the units of PRON as well as in the work of electoral organs.

[Question] A significant new feature of the June elections will be the local election programs which candidates for councilmen come out with. What will the programs of youth candidates contain? Does the fact that there are several organizations, and that they will represent youth in the elections to the people's councils, not limit the chances of articulating and realizing the interests of youth?

[Answer] On 31 March of this year, a meeting of the National Council of PRON was held at which a declaration containing the general contents and goals of the election campaign for the people's councils was passed. On the basis of this declaration, the ZSNP and other youth organizations, as participants in the movement, will formulate the local election programs.

Of course--and this is important--they will be supplemented by the intentions and desires related to the particulars and the problems which occur in communities of youth studying and working in villages and cities. Surely, in these areas, there will be such questions as the development of a cultural, sports, and recreation infrastructure, and of housing construction.

In the creation of election programs, the cooperation of all youth organizations is necessary. This is a condition of the effective representation of the interests of the entire young generation. With this thought, several months ago we established the Central Commission of Cooperation of Socialist Youth Unions, which will coordinate all of the activities connected with the elections.

9915

CSO: 2600/889

KRAKOW STUDENT UNION FACES FUNDING DIFFICULTIES

AU131535 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Apr 84 p 3

[Interview given by Stanislaw Mlynski, chairman of the Council of the Polish Students Association in Krakow University, to Wieslaw Bendkowski: "To Be Active for No Profit?"--date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Bendkowski] The Polish Students Union has been active in your university for almost 18 months, but the number of students in your union is less than 5 percent of all students in Krakow.

[Mlynski] That is true, but we must realize that the Krakow academic community is probably the one that was most profoundly disturbed by the unrest at the beginning of the eighties. Attracting students to our union, which is the only one that is doing something for the student community, takes time. Our student association was set up as a typical small body of activists who really wanted to do something for their community. The results of our work will certainly attract students, but we know that this will take time.

[Bendkowski] Perhaps students do not like your program?

[Mlynski] I do not think so. We are like a trade union organization, and our program is a trade union program. Social affairs, the development of hobbies, culture, and recreation are our most important activities. Students are not joining us in droves because we are at present unable to continue the achievements of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. There are two reasons for that. First, it is almost exclusively first-year students who join us, but they have no experience of social work. That is natural because they simply have no time for such work. However, after they have acclimatized themselves and become 2d- or 3d-year students they will be able to help us.

The second reason is more pedestrian, though crucial: We have no funds, and our material resources are less than modest.

[Bendkowski] But what about the legacy of the Socialist Union of Polish Students? It was enormously wealthy!

[Mlynski] It sure was, but we inherited very little from it--just a single club. Compared with that union, we are a financial dwarf. The socialist

union used to receive large funds from the profits made by student cooperatives, which are now independent self-financing enterprises, and we get a big nothing from them. The university authorities provide us with funds, but they are negligible. For example, they have granted us 2550,000 for this year. Should we laugh or weep? With such money how can we organize the all-Poland cultural functions, which were so famous at one time? Or even common summer functions? As for foreign trips, we can forget about them. This is ridiculous. The Academy of Mining and Metallurgy has provided 24.5 million for its students, even though their number is smaller than that of Krakow University students.

[Bendkowski] Perhaps that is how your work last year was assessed?

[Mlynski] Nonsense! We do not organize functions just for ourselves. Last year we spent less than 20 percent of the funds on purely our own affairs. The rest--just over 80 percent--was spent on tourist clubs and scientific circles. Students did not find it worth their while to join our association because the clubs or circles they belonged to were financed by us. In that way they could profit on our behalf without doing anything for us. That will change now because we no longer subsidize clubs and circles. We have no funds.

[Bendkowski] In that way you are going to give up potential members of your association.... As for the Socialist Union of Polish Students, many individuals joined it only to be able to spend cheap vacations abroad.

[Mlynski] It is a bad thing when students massively join an organization only because they want to profit materially from it. We do not want such students. I will give you an example. Before the last summer vacations many students applied to us for membership because they wanted to qualify for free summer vacations by filling a membership declaration, even though our summer vacation activity was very much curtailed and so were vacations in camps abroad. We wanted only those students to participate in those vacations who really do something for us. We have every right to follow such a policy. All this triggered funny situations, such as a student would become a member of our association for only a few minutes because as soon as he was told that he would have to do social work for it he would tear up his declaration and we would never hear any more of him. We will never be able to set up a resilient and energetic organization with the help of such "activists." We will not subsidize any trips anywhere, but we must have minimum funds. What we have now is not enough to do anything. We have not enough to do something even for the community of Krakow students. In that way we are nobody at this university.

CSO: 2600/960

'INVENTORS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS' CONDEMNED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 7 Apr 84 p 4

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Why should a person leave the place he was born, grew up and was connected with people and events? So why should he go through this? For what purpose? Toward which road? Why does he not do his best to repay with his pure, good and nice acts what a country and a people have given him with love and faith, what they entrusted to him to preserve?

No, these are not rhetorical questions of circumstance. These questions result from any clear, honest conscience, particularly the moment at which each person realizes (better late than never!) that such people, each in his own way, have cheated. Because how else could someone be characterized, particularly the one who pathetically and cheaply, as a criterion for his mistakes in seeking an illusory happiness, far from native places, invokes some invented "religious persecutions," than as a cheat lacking elementary good sense? Not to speak of why, under this pretext, they attempt to cloud the waters, to appear as illusory "victims" of some even more illusory processes of intention. To all of them we must answer outright to their faces, as is our good and correct custom, what we really think of them and show them that we know what they really are.

Let us start by reminding them of a fact on the order of evidence, an eloquent expression of the fundamental humanism of our society: it is a well-known and recognized truth that nobody in the Socialist Republic of Romania is persecuted for his religious faith, while belonging to a religious grouping permitted by the laws of our state does not represent and cannot represent a reason for persecution or oppression. Nobody in Romania under any pretext can make a distinction between a believer and a nonbeliever, either in daily activity or before the laws. We repeat, this is an expression and realization of the deeply democratic system, of the standards of living together in full unity, equality and respect established by the socialist society. We all know this and any person of good faith has before him so many facts through the prism of which he can judge.

It is no less true, however, that, for well-known reasons, reasons which no longer can be hidden from people of good faith, some reactionary circles abroad

are spreading all kinds of lies, by which they want to create a false picture of Romania, to denigrate the basic realities of our socialist society. Of course, it goes without saying why these circles look unkindly on the fact that in Romania both the serving priests and pastors as well as believers of the 14 cults recognized by law are carrying out their activity within the laws of both our socialist order and our state and are making their contribution to all the people, to the prosperity of the country and to the material and spiritual progress of the nation they belong to.

As I was saying, it also is natural that this reality does not suit the enemies of our country and system and then, through various forms, among which are lies, cheating, gross falsification of the truth, they try to make some pastors and priests and believers in certain cults shirk from the work of building the new society, even going as far as drawing them to immigrate to unknown regions, having before them merely the illusion of some phantasmagoric "achievements." All those men who invent this empty talk know better than we do how much truth such empty talk can contain. The problem is that, by exploiting naivete, mistakes or certain shortcomings of such individuals, they attempt to force a belief in a religion, to transform it into a cheap coin for delusions which more than once fall through dramatically.

But can this aspect of religious life be placed in opposition to one's position as a citizen of this country, a devoted son of this people? The overwhelming majority of facts proves unquestionably that it cannot. Through the years I have known many people who, even if they were followers of a religious cult, placed above all their faith in the cause of all the people, liberty and their flourishing. I even remember that such a person, approaching old age, confessed to me: "Never under any circumstances would I betray the forefathers' homeland, even if it is out of date to believe in a religion. That is how I started out and I cannot change in my old age, from one day to the next. But, just as well, those after me will show whether this faith of ours has been well founded or not. However, I do want to say one thing: that the homeland and the people cannot be betrayed because there still is no reason, including a religious one, to place above the country's basic interests the interests of some aimless individuals without scruples, without a soul and sense who, for a bowl of soup, slander and degrade everything that we hold dear and beautiful."

And, yet, unfortunately, it still happens that some people, followers of a religious faith, take this thoughtless and dramatic step. One cannot deny that among them are the naive, the uninformed or simply those who do not have the courage to face reality. It is a certain category and I am not referring to it. However, I have in mind those who shamefully abandon their country even--what is more serious--place themselves in the service of those who are hostile to Romania and socialism. These are the ones whose biography in this lamentable state is merely the final act in a slow, irreversible moral, social decay. I have written about such people before, basically low and degenerating species who are part of either religious groupings which are illegal or who are seen as anarchic elements within certain religious groupings which act legally. For example, there is Iulian Pop who once went to visit across the ocean, forgets to come back. But those who know

here in Romania do not forget that in the aktiv he was sentenced for antisocial acts and the sudden decision to remain abroad is connected with the fact that he had to account before the country's laws for pretty much the same type of act. You figure out for yourself if it can be a matter of "religious persecution."

Another person, Albert Birsan, also has settled abroad, posing as a "victim of the faith." But while he was in Romania, having entered into conflict with the laws and authorities for acts from which it would have been difficult to escape unpunished. Yet another time, the mask he tries to make now falls noisily. Actually, both are people who entered into contradiction with the moral principles and the laws of our society, people who, not wanting or not being able to find a path for honest and worthy return among the people, simply attempt to disappear without a trace.

Finally, Walter Weiss, having gone to the FRG, who also struggles to enter into the same gallery. However, here in Romania, we know just as well that he was kicked out of a legal religious grouping for reasons of immorality and an attitude of failure to respect the cult's discipline as well as the fact that he was sentenced for illegally possessing foreign currency. It is difficult or impossible for him to show that the particular amount was for noble religious purposes or of a charitable nature.

Drawing the line and adding it all up, we see one thing: that all those who in one way or another seek to escape these shores, including for the invented pretext of "religious persecution," are destined in the end to a lamentable moral and social failure, decline and decomposition from which, even if they want to be nice "migrating birds," no nice word, no picture of cheap talk can save them any longer.

8071

CSO: 2700/186

SESSION ON UNITY IN 1939 ANTIFASCIST ACTIONS

AU301411 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Apr (AGERPRES)--A homage-paying scientific session was held in Bucharest on Saturday, April 28, on "RCP's outlook on the historic significance of the unity of action of the working class, of all progressive forces in the fight to bar fascism and war, for the victory of socialist revolution and construction. Nicolae Ceausescu's conception about the decisive [word indistinct] of the unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for progress and civilization, for safeguarding peoples' independence, freedom and life."

The session was attended by members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, members of the RCP Central Committee and of the government, representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, veterans of the working-class movement, workers of Bucharest enterprises, teaching staff and researchers.

Several papers were read during the session like: "RCP's Role in Rallying the Advanced Forces of Society in the Struggle for Safeguarding the Romanian People's Foremost Interests, for Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society in Romania" by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, "Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook on the Historical Demand of Working-Class Unity. The creation of the United Workers Front--Important, Stage in the Fight for Winning Political Power, in the Formation of the Working Class' Organizational and Political Unity, and the Revolutionary Transformation of Society" by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, "The Broad Political Demonstrations Organized by the RCP Against Fascism and War, in Defense of the Country's Independence and Integrity" by Ion Popescu-Puturi, member of the RCP Central Committee, director of the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies Under the RCP Central Committee, "The Ways and Means Used by the RCP to Rally All Social, Democratic and Progressive Forces Opposing Fascism and War, for Safeguarding the Country's Independence and Integrity" by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, vice-president of the State Council, "The Youth--An Active Antifascist and Revolutionary Detachment, a Transformative Force in Building the New Social System in Our Homeland" by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, "The Participation of Scientists, Artists and Men of Letters

in the People's Fight Against Fascism and War, for Progress and Civilization, for the Building of the New Social System in Romania" by Ion Ursu, alternative member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, "RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu's Conception on the Achievement of Unity and Democratic, Progressive and Anti-imperialist Forces--a Prerequisite for the Triumph of the Cause of Progress, National Independence, Peace and Security Worldwide" by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, "The Unity of the Working People, Whatever Their Nationality, of the People as a Whole Round the Party and Its General Secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu--a Guarantee of the Victory of Socialism in Romania" by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, chairman of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania.

All papers pointed to the RCP's role in rallying all sociopolitical, progressive and democratic forces of the country, in safeguarding the major interests of the masses of people, of the nation, in accomplishing the great historical act of 23 August 1944, in democratic and revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism in Romania. They also stressed the RCP's scientific, revolutionary outlook on the leading role of the working class in society, the significance of its unity of action, the intense political-organizational activity for the creation in April 1944 of the United Workers' Front--a solid foundation of the people's unity in the fight against fascism and war, against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and independence. The papers also highlighted Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution to the antifascist movement, to the working class and the other social forces, fight for social and national justice, to the organization of the broad antifascist and antiwar demonstrations on 1 May 1939.

The papers also emphasized the fact that, alongside the working class, the peasantry and all working people, irrespective of nationality, intelligentsia, personalities of the Romanian science, art and culture had also made an outstanding contribution to the fight against fascism and war, for the Romanian society's progress and civilization.

The session enlarged upon the deep-going political significance of the broad political demonstrations staged in Bucharest and in many other centres of the country on 1 May 1939, with emphasis on their far-reaching echo. It also underlined the permanency of the idea of unity, and ever topical character of the [word indistinct] of joint fight of all working people.

The session also highlighted the achievements scored in the years of socialist construction on the political, economic and sociocultural plane, and stressed that they were underlain by the unity of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all working people, whatever their nationality, round the Romanian Communist Party--the vital centre of the nation and the leading political force in the Romanian society.

At the end of the session the participants adopted a telegram addressed to RCP general secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY DELEGATE, PRESS SUPPORT APPARATUS DESCRIBED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 84 p 11

[Article by Mirjana Protic: "Unnoticed But Indispensable"]

[Text] This article is dedicated to the numerous professionals, technicians, and skilled workers employed in the Federal Assembly building on Marx and Engels Square. Few know about their work and hardly anyone writes about it, but it would be hard to imagine any meetings, sessions, or conferences taking place without it.

When flags flutter on the masts in front of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly building, located in the very heart of Belgrade on Marx and Engels Square, it is a sign that meetings of the Federal Assembly are taking place.

Journalists regularly write about what takes place at these meetings and about what the delegates are doing. But in addition to the delegates there are also many other essential people--professionals, technicians, and skilled workers--who work here, but few know of their work and almost nothing is written about it. That is why we have devoted time and space to these people in this article about a day at the SFRY Assembly. We will acquaint you with the secretary general of the Federal Assembly, the secretary of the Federal Chamber, the Delegate's Office, the Secretariat for Information, the building superintendent, the radio and TV center, stenographers, simultaneous interpreters, typists, printing shop workers, library workers, workers in documentation, and workers in the clinic. Then we will talk about how this tall building for delegates is maintained.

Gostimir Cetojevic is the superintendent of the Federal Assembly building. In an unusual coincidence of name and job, Gostimir [inn-keeper], who is indeed the actual superintendent, takes care of this center with a team of skilled maintenance workers and hygienists.

Everything Is Saved, Everything Shines

"Every one of the 170 rooms, in addition to the plenary halls as well as those intended for board meetings, must be ready for use at any time," explains Gostimir Cetojevic. "They must be clean, aired out, well lit, and heated if the weather is cold. Quite often, a hall which can seat 40 people must hold

twice that number, or even more, because during a meeting there are also professional assistants and journalists in addition to the delegates. That is why we don't throw out old chairs here, we keep everything and use them again when needed. We even save every piece of [? itison] which has been left over. Even with a reduced budget, the characteristic appearance of the building must be maintained."

Although the boss of the hygienists--who number only 22--speaks of their good work, the dazzlingly clean halls and all of the auxiliary rooms in the Federal Assembly also bear witness to their work. Even on days when 1500 people pass through the building, the odor of orderliness and cleanliness is preserved all the more, and everything functions all the better.

Maintaining cleanliness in this building of unusual architecture is not exactly a simple matter, where there are windows up to 6 meters in height in plenary halls as high as 18 meters, and windows must be cleaned at the top of the Federal Assembly cupola which are at a height of 22 meters.

While we are on the subject of architecture, we should mention that the building is also of great interest to many world art historians. It was built between 1907 and 1936 according to the design of architect Jovan Ilikic. Exterior and interior treatment is carried out in all the details of the Italian Renaissance style. In front of the main entrance are the well-known statues entitled "Black Horses Were Dancing," the works of sculptor Toma Rosandic. Frescoes fully adorn the chamber walls--they are the works of Rajak Slepernik, Vladimir Filakovac, and P. Menegel-Rosic.

"It is much easier for me when meetings of the Chamber have begun than when we are preparing for them," says Aca Vujin, secretary of the Federal Chamber of the Federal Assembly, and our next host, because the day we are writing about, 28 March, there is indeed a meeting of the Federal Chamber.

Preparation for the meeting does not begin with sending the invitations, which must be delivered to the delegates at least 10 days before the meeting begins. According to Aca Vujin, preparations begin as far back as with the confirmation of the 3-month plan of the program. The fact that there is not always agreement between the planning of assignments and the way they are carried out causes difficulty.

Before the conference invitations are sent out, the president of the Chamber holds a meeting with the presidents of the working bodies and the coordinators: confirmations and consultations in the delegate base are carried out, but this is the responsibility of the delegates. The secretary is obliged to familiarize the presidents of the working bodies and the president of the Chamber with the level of preparation of records, files, and laws.

Sometimes the meeting goes smoothly, but it must be said that the Federal Chamber has never had a short meeting. Sometimes various problems and a detailed agenda will prolong the session. Discussions concerning changes in a community of associated labor, introducing the possibility of assigning a giro account for a work organization, and discussions on the Consumption Limitation

Law have all required, for example, prolonged consideration. After all, even the meeting about which we are writing did not last only one day, but was continued the following day--29 March--as well.

"Situations in which agreement has not been reached on numerous open and controversial questions in the working bodies, so meetings are held before the session starts or while Federal Chamber is working, present special difficulties in the work of a Federal Chamber meeting," notes Aca Vujin. "This is a special burden for all of the professional services as well as for the delegates."

Conforming to Stabilization

Concerning preparations for holding a meeting, for which not only officials and delegates are responsible but also both professional and technical workers, the secretary general of the Federal Assembly, Milan Jonovski, tells us: "We make certain especially that the jobs are carried out in a quality manner, promptly, and within the time period provided. Almost all of the services and the appropriate workers concentrate their efforts during a meeting of the Chamber in the Federal Assembly building."

Then, according to Jonovski, the high level of responsibility of the workers becomes especially apparent. Efficiency, precision, and speed are sought and obtained. Everyone works while the meeting is in process, regardless of how long it lasts, and even after the meeting is over, until all of the jobs have been done. And, we recall, there are meetings which last until late at night, even until dawn. For the most part, this is not compensated for, there is no pay for overtime work, all of this is considered a part of one's normal responsibilities. There is only the chance of getting some days off, but even this cannot be provided for everyone.

The next person we talked to was Murat Morina, secretary of the Delegates and Delegations Office, the only new office which was formed with the introduction of the delegate system. About 30 people work here, in professional capacities and in other jobs. In every republic and province delegation there are one or two specialists--usually an economist or a lawyer--as well as an analyst and one concerned with documentation. They provide expert advice concerning various official documents, and they gather additional information and records for the needs of the delegates. Some of them periodically leave for delegate meetings in republics and provinces, for the sake of coordination.

"This office really comes into its own when things are running in a coordinated manner," Marina tells us. "One must constantly be with the delegate, from the moment a delegate first enters the Federal Assembly, and one must stay until the last delegate has left the building after the meeting is over."

Two people in this office work on reserving tickets for the transportation of delegates by train, plane, or bus, as well as arranging for their lodging in Belgrade. Morina gives us some interesting details about this. "The delegates stay most often within the immediate vicinity of the Federal Assembly building, in hotels like the Kasina, the Moskva, the Union, and the Splendid. These

hotels can be described as being modest, average accommodations, in no way luxurious, and the delegates themselves pay for the room."

The delegates are usually transported to the railway station or airport by a small bus, or by car if there are only a few of them as the bus uses more gas.

"There has never been a case recorded in which a special plane was used for a delegate," Morina stated categorically. All of this indicates that the delegates behave modestly, in accordance with the stabilization program.

While we're at it, we should mention that there are also two restaurants in the Federal Assembly building. One can drink coffee and juice in one of them, and have dinner in the other. The well-known specialties are veal or pork chops with baked potato, and both tripe and the inevitable domestic beans "disappear" quickly. However, everything can be obtained here at reasonable prices--meal tickets do not exist, nor does putting the meal on the company's tab. Everyone pays out of their own pockets for what they eat, from the delegates to their professional assistants.

Monitors Help Journalists

In spite of very good working conditions in the press room, a group of 30 journalists, in a constant race to get their reports in on time, wage their personal struggle at the same time to hammer out an article, read through the transcribed notes, follow the course of meeting of the Chamber on the TV monitor, and answer telephone calls from their editors...

This does not mean, of course, that the journalists are informed only by means of the TV monitor, because all of the meetings are open and can be followed directly from the hall; the journalists also do this when committee meetings are being held, but they use the monitors at Federal Chamber meetings in order to be more efficient and to be able to send out their news stories just as the meetings are ending.

In the Secretariat for Information, everyone is helpful. They inform us that approximately 315 journalists from 64 editorial staffs--newspapers of the federation, republics and provinces--have been accredited in the Federal Assembly. The 30 journalists who are present every day are called the "press corps." The others tend to topical reports, according to what their editors want.

"The constitutional category concerning the openness of work is practiced every day in the Federal Assembly," states Petar Stojanovic, editor-in-chief in charge of collaboration with the press, radio, and television. "All Yugoslav editorial staffs report on the work of the 40 working committees and 2 chambers of the Assembly, on a current, or annotative basis."

All journalists obtain necessary files, analyses, and legal proposals in special boxes, at the same time that the delegates do. One of the usual forms of collaboration of the assembly office of information with the public newspapers is the organization of direct talks between administrative people,

assembly officials, or delegates and the journalists. They even familiarize them with confidential files, but no "breach" of a state secret has been noted from this source, or that which has been designated as being "strictly confidential," stresses Stojanovic.

The Secretariat for Information also prepares publications, such as delegate papers and informative bulletins, to provide the delegate base with more information.

Rare and Valuable Editions

Bojan Selic is an assistant to the secretary general of the Federal Assembly and director of the Office for Informational and Documentary Affairs. He acquainted us with the domestic and foreign documentation departments, where they even have files on the work of the United Nations. In addition to contemporary professional books and fiction, as well as notes transcribed from assembly meetings, there are some quite valuable rarities in the library.

"The Assembly library of the Kingdom of Serbia developed into the Library of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, and thanks to this the present-day library of the Federal Assembly owns some very rare and valuable editions from the period of the Kingdom of Serbia, the Kingdom of Montenegro, the Kingdom of Croatia, Slovenia, and Dalmatia, and of Bosnia-Hercegovina from 1910," Nevenka Tijanic, director of the library, tells us.

Thus, for example, even notes from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Parliament from the period 1910-1914 are kept here. The handwritten notes transcribed from meetings of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbia, held in Nis in 1915 and Krf from 1916 to 1918, are unique items. Prominent among the extraordinarily old and rare publications is the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia, which was published in 1835!

Hot Transcripts

While we are still on the subject of transcripts, let's return to those of today, which get to delegates and journalists only 40 minutes after the last discussion.

The manner and path of origin of these notes is very interesting; before they get "hot" from the printing press they arrive at the editorial office.

The way leads us, by winding steps in a less typical part of the Federal Assembly building, facing Kosovski Street, to the radio and TV technical center.... There, before the most modern equipment, we find Djurdj Ivanovic, Lazar Radulovic, and Zdravak Milicevic.

Directly through the internal television system and cameras placed in the auditoriums, they film the meeting of the Federal Chamber and transmit it to TV monitors in the press room, lobbies, offices, and booths for simultaneous translation.

At the same time, tapes are made by another apparatus, also from the meeting of the Chamber. These tapes are each 5 minutes in length. They are then sent to the stenographic and typing office. This marathon is carried out on foot by a courier who passes through the labyrinth of corridors and stairways up to 150 times during the course of only one meeting.

The operation of the machines for simultaneous translation also provokes wonder. At the same moment, at the same second, these machines, with the help of radio technicians and the simultaneous interpreters, achieve what is for the uninitiated an almost unbelievable accomplishment. The voice of a speaker, received from the auditorium, is sent to the interpreters who translate it simultaneously. The sound of the translation returns to the radio center and at the same time is sent to the auditorium to every delegate seat through a receiver. The same team of radio and TV technicians maintain and service all this equipment.

During a short pause, we talked with Eleonor Koneski-Sredojevic, translator of Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, and with Tanja Pejovic, translator of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian, in the booths for simultaneous translation. They said they were translating debates directly from the meeting of the chamber, and the discussants, who were speaking rapidly, were causing difficulties and requiring additional concentration.

In the neighboring booths one could hear Albanian and Hungarian. These extraordinarily skilled young women were translating most completed legal expressions as well as economic data in an instant, without hesitation.

With translations into Macedonian, Slovenian, Albanian, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian, and vice versa, the delegates can directly speak in and follow a debate in their own language. These interpreters also take part in the work of the team which translates assembly records into the languages of the nations and nationalities.

The typing office is a beehive of activity. Mara Cesarac, typist, explains the technology of the job for us. We learn that the typists work together with the stenographers, who dictate to them the proceeds of the meetings of the chamber and the committees, or they type out the notes, "taking down" the debate through headphones.

The work of the team of 20 stenographers--only one of whom is a man--is carried out daily, we were assured, but it seems that their work is most valuable on just those days when there are meetings of the Federal Chamber, when they send out their notes in the shortest time. We cite the words of the secretary general of the Federal Assembly, who said, "This is one of the most complete teams of advanced debate stenographers in the country."

We walked on ahead to the printing shop.

"During the meeting of this chamber we 'put out' about 15,000 pages of transcribed notes and about 9000 pages of notes from this morning's meeting of the Legislative-Legal Commission," says Vladimir Subic, shift supervisor, and

he adds that this is "a smaller amount of work, since only one chamber is in session, but when both chambers are in session at the same time, as often happens, we have to work a lot harder." We notice two machines of the "small offset" type and one device for photocopying. They are running at top speed, but one will still often hear, "Will the notes be ready soon?" The uninitiated do not know, of course, that this does not depend only on the people in the printing shop.

Cardiologist On Call

How strenuous the work of all the people in the Federal Assembly is--and we have not even been able to present them all--is also indicated by the fact that a medical team is constantly on call here.

Every day, Dr Dragica Jovanovic, who specializes in general medicine, and Ljiljana Marula, a registered nurse, work at the clinic of general medicine. When the chambers are in session, a cardiologist, Dr Marko Knezevic, and a nurse, Mirjana Sekularac, are on call as well. The clinic has all the necessary equipment, including a device for taking an EKG (for recording the heart), and one for giving oxygen. There are also ambulances standing in readiness which are equipped for resuscitation.

"We receive about 50 patients a day," Dr Dragica Jovanovic informs us. There is a medical record for all the delegates and employees in the Federal Assembly. One and the same team of doctors is on call here, without substitutions, at the same time as the delegates, until morning, if necessary.

Security

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is responsible for the security of the Federal Assembly building and its personnel. A special office takes care of the complete security of the building, all delegates, and others who come here. This is a professional team which functions as the irreplaceable human factor in security and relies on the mechanism of social self-defense in the professional offices of the Federal Assembly. These people are very courteous and attentive every time one meets them.

This office works nonstop, 24 hours a day. The whole staff is on call, whether or not meetings are being held, day and night, all working days, holidays, and Sundays. They use the most modern technology for securing this building.

Moreover, the first contact of all those who enter the Federal Assembly is a meeting with these people. They are always ready to help and to direct the visitor where he needs to go.

As a part of organized visits, school representatives, faculties, and organizations of associated labor from the whole country come here, in order to follow the work of the meetings from the gallery or to look over the assembly building which is a unique architectural, artistic, and historic monument.

9548

CS0: 2800/283

LJUBISAV MARKOVIC'S VIEW IN DUGA CHALLENGED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Slijepcevic: "Professor Markovic's 'homo economicus'"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] DUGA has taken pains (in No 264, covering the period from 7 to 21 April 1984) to justify the motto of its permanent interview feature to the effect that "it goes furthest in its conversation with...." In its conversation with Dr Ljubisav Markovic, member of the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference and professor of the School of Political Science in Belgrade, it has in any case gone far. We will overlook on this occasion the professor's arbitrary interpretations of the Law on Associated Labor and its horror at the constant questioning "in some sort of caucuses whether their pay spread is 1:3 or 1:5." We will dwell only on that passage of the interview which was also the source of the title of the article: "Who Is Offering Socialism Today!" In answering a question about the measures announced by the Federal Executive Council to achieve financial consolidation of the economy, Dr Markovic said among other things: "the way out, then, does not lie in administrative forms of immobilization of purchasing power, but in orienting the working people and citizens toward higher productivity, greater income and economic behavior in all forms of work, from housing to education. /All trades and professions could be in the private sector and accessible to all those who desire, can and will pay for them. In the name of what is a citizen prevented from obtaining for himself a particular health care service or to also demand a certain standard in paying for higher education, but also to exert influence during the course of study...."/ (Emphasis V. S.)

A bit further on Professor Markovic says: "What kind of a split have we made in a man as worker and citizen when we have put him in a position of seeing only to food and clothing for himself and his family, while all the rest, from housing to education--are the business of the state? That is one reason why he stays at a low level of labor productivity, since the central area of his life has been filled by the state or, more accurately, by the administration. /A man cannot carry on economic activity, nor have an influence on the conduct of economic activity in the health service, education and other sectors."/ (Emphasis V. S.)

The ideas of Dr Ljubisav Markovic are unusually reminiscent of one of the ideologies of the rightwing movement, usually neoliberalism, whose influence has become stronger in the most highly developed capitalist countries over the last decade. They are the basis for its return to laissez faire or "a market social economy," replacement of the ideal of the "fair society" by the ideal of the "free society" or "individual freedom." The conception of the "economic man"--homo economicus--is to be found at the heart of neoliberal thinking. Homo economicus is always the individual man, never the member of any group or community (much less, forgive the comment, an associated worker). Homo economicus is reduced to economic rationality. This is a man who, if he is not subject to bureaucratic coercion or the influence of prejudices, is capable of judging what is best for him at any moment. Homo economicus only chooses between several possibilities and must have the possibility of a choice both as a "producer" and as a consumer. Of course, in contemporary capitalism the possibility of choices of producer exists only for the employer, not for the ordinary employed person as well, for the man who works for a wage. Neoliberalism, then, has committed itself to private enterprise, to the use of private property to accumulate capital, and it has come out in opposition to restriction of market competition. Another part of that model is the strong state which will protect the system and order and safeguard private ownership and the free play of market laws, but it will be deprived of its social functions. The neoliberal is against public hospitals, since public hospitals prevent the individual from choosing himself the quality of "service" and the level of cost. The neoliberal is in favor of private schools, since this is a precondition for having a large number of schools, expensive and fashionable, but is also a precondition for the freedom of choice. And so on and so on.... We are not far from everyone's freedom to sleep under the bridge.

The ideas of Dr Ljubisav Markovic and the unfortunate comparisons which they lead to have greater weight because he is also a member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY. We are convinced, however, that he is not expressing the collective opinion of that body, but is presenting his own views and positions. But even in that case that must also be a problem for the collective body to which he belongs.

Yet on one thing we do after all agree with Dr Ljubisav Markovic. He also has this to say: "If in separate meetings there is to be discussion of 'differing views' of certain matters, it would be very bad if precisely these matters were not the ones."

We would add that we do not see any more urgent matters than these, which are something we ought to clarify.

7045

CSO: 2800/300

PIROT THEATER PRESENTS PLAY WITH 'UNACCEPTABLE POLITICAL CONTENT'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 84 p 7

[Article by V. Veljkovic: "Contrary Commentaries"]

[Text] The storm over "Tigar's" immature and unjudicious export transactions with a West German firm which failed had not yet died down in Pirot when a new event unexpectedly flashed over the town and caught it in the undertow. Suddenly the People's Theater found itself at the center of attention. The proximate cause was the premiere of the play "The Spawning of the Carp" by Aleksandar Popovic, which was held 4 April of this year on the stage of the theater in Pirot. This performance, which aroused sharp reactions among the people of Pirot, was directed by Dragan Jakovljevic of Belgrade as guest director. The cast included 12 actors of this small theater company.

Immediately after the premiere performance (the theater was full to the rafters and not a ticket to be had) there followed reactions and contrary commentaries.

The Section for Political-Ideological and Organizational Development of the Pirot Opstina Conference of the SAMP placed on the agenda of a meeting held 5 April the political-ideological consequences of putting on this theater performance. After an extensive discussion it was concluded that the production of "The Spawning of the Carp" should be removed from the repertoire because of the "socially unacceptable political-ideological message it contained." It was likewise concluded that "basis" had been established for "suspicion that this production had been put on the repertoire in a manner that was unlawful and contrary to self-management in that the delegate base of members of the Program Council had not been consulted when the production was put on the repertoire, in that the play had not been previously reviewed by a specialist, and because the play had been touched up during the rehearsals."

The conclusions of the section stated that the delegates of the Program Council should inform their delegate constituency about the problems that had arisen from putting "The Spawning of the Carp" on the repertoire and from its performance, that they should request a position to be taken on this matter, and that the Self-Management Community of Interest for Culture of Pirot Opstina should examine information on this performance and take appropriate steps.

These conclusions were delivered in their original form to the basic organization of the LC of the Culture Center of which the Pirot People's Theater is a part, to the Program Council of the Culture Center, and to the Program Council of the People's Theater, as well as to the working people's caucus [of the theater] with the recommendation that proceedings be instituted to establish the accountability of the authorities of the professional management and self-management.

The conclusions were also delivered to the executive bodies of the sociopolitical organizations and to the Pirot Opstina Assembly, to the public defender of self-management law, and to the opstina and district public prosecutors.

That same day, 5 April, there was a meeting of the Commission for the Ideological and Theoretical Effort and Development of the League of Communists of the Pirot Opstina Committee of the LC. It took up the performance of the play "The Spawning of the Carp," and it concluded that this play "had unacceptable political-ideological content" and that "many details, characters and scenes in it were apolitical and had an antihumanist coloring."

The conclusions adopted at the meeting of that commission recommended that the Program Council of the People's Theater reconsider its decision to put on the play "The Spawning of the Carp" and to remove it from the repertoire. It recommended to the judicial authorities that they take appropriate steps within their competency, and the basic organization of the LC of the Culture Center was "to reassess the responsibility and political-ideological orientation of the responsible people in the People's Theater who had something to do with getting this play put on the repertoire."

The Pirot Opstina Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] was held 2 days after the premiere of the disputed play "The Spawning of the Carp." It was also attended by members of sections of wartime units of the National Liberation Struggle, holders of the highest public and social offices in the opstina, and also the administrators of the Culture Center, the People's Theater and the Pirot Opstina Self-Managing Community of Interest for Culture. It was also concluded at that meeting that the production of "The Spawning of the Carp" should be removed from the repertoire, since "its ideological messages are unacceptable and contrary to our socialist and self-managed society."

[Box]

"We will organize a discussion about this production in the youth lecture series. We want to hear what young people have to say, to learn what they see and what they think about 'The Spawning of the Carp.' No one is making objections to the artistic level of the production, but the objections are being directed toward certain ideological messages which are unacceptable. There are debatable passages and a wider discussion and exchange of opinions is indispensable," said Dragan Milenkovic, president of the Pirot Opstina Conference of the Socialist Youth League.

"It is an exceptional experience to play in this exceptional production. We all gave everything we had for it to succeed, and the production is beyond the ordinary level. We found a common language with the director and we saw nothing bad in the production. It follows its own line and has its own integrity. I am a member of the Program Council, and I feel that the production should be performed," says Vidosava Todic, who has a role in "The Spawning of the Carp."

"I had little time to read the play, since it was given to me immediately before the dress rehearsal of the production. It is unusual in its subject matter and ambiguous in its themes. There are a number of understated passages which are extremely problematical. It contains anticommunism and nihilism. Historical events are presented from a viewpoint that is ideologically unacceptable. The intentions of the theater were good, but the objective implications of the production are not good. It is our view that the council of the theater should remove the production from the repertoire and that the SAWP should organize a wider discussion of it," said Dr Vjekoslav Butigan, professor, chairman of the Section for Political-Ideological and Organizational Development of the Pirot Opstina Conference of the SAWP.

7045

CSO: 2800/300

INSTITUTE HEAD ON LCY VOTING, LEADERS' MOTIVES

AU081221 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Apr 84 p 11

[Interview given by Dr Vladimir Goati, president of the Managing Board of the Belgrade Institute of Social Sciences, to Vojislava Vignjevic and Radmila Dubljevic--place and time not given; paper does not give specific attribution to reporter asking each question]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] At the session of representatives of all federal organs and organization at the SAWPY Federal Conference that discussed the implementation of economic stabilization, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, pointed out among other things: "... One more reason for the concern of all of us is the fact that the 12th LCY Central Committee Session has shown that in the LC itself, and if you wish in the Central Committee itself--and this is only a reflection of the situation in the society--there is insufficient unity even on those issues on which we have achieved agreement and unity...." Can you comment on this attitude?

[Goati] What is involved are far-reaching contentions that, however, do not provoke surprise. Experience and results of scientific research show that LC members differ in the respect of their social position, interests, even evaluation standards. The assessment made by LCY Presidium president provokes no surprise either, because this has already been pointed to by the fact that the LCY Central Committee frequently has adopted abstract conclusions into which one could comfortably place very different standpoints.

If, therefore, the assessment made by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is no surprise, one can pose the following question in connection with it: Why has the LCY Central Committee failed to adopt stands on controversial issues by vote as it is established by the Statute of 1982 (the 12th Congress)? The exact meaning of democratic centralism--which officially is the principle of the organization of the LCY--is that at all levels of the LCY, decisions are made by vote after a thorough debate. The minority is obliged to implement decisions of the majority. What is the meaning of democratic centralism if the minority/majority proportion on all controversial issues is not established by voting? Without this, the advocates of different opinions have an equal right to contend that they express the majority's stand. It is necessary to establish majority and minority because it is unrealistic to assume that a "unity of thought and activity" on all issues is a priority ensured with all members of

some party body. That unity was not ensured even in narrow and homogeneous cadre parties that consisted of "special kind" of people--professional revolutionaries. A closer insight into the internal relations within the CPSU during Lenin's time shows that even in this very homogeneous revolutionary party there were huge differences in opinions between Central Committee members. On these differences, a decision was made by vote and it bound everyone. It seems to me that it is even more necessary to find out by voting the proportion of forces within million-strong organization such as the LCY, in which the members are incomparably less homogeneous than it is in narrow cadres parties.

Inventive Force

[Reporter] Federalist tendencies in the LCY are mentioned frequently. Where, according to you, should one seek the reasons for them?

[Goati] Without contending that my answer will be complete, I will mention one, probably not the most important, factor concerning the position of the LCY leadership. I will hold your attention to this point because I think that the LCY leadership--same as leaderships of other political parties--has an extremely greater influence in political life.

About the LCY leadership, I have many times pointed to some negative effects of the fact that the LCY Congress, the highest LCY organ, does not elect members of the LCY Central Committee, but only verifies their election. The LCY being a united organization, such an orientation fails to be in agreement with the principle of democratic centralism, to be more precise, with none of the interpretations of this principle that are known to me. However, let us set this aside as a seemingly unimportant doctrinal issue.

Divinization and Diabolization

Let us now analyze realistically the impact such a solution has on the position of party leaders. I am emphasizing the need for a realistic analysis because there are two extremes in the approach to party and political leaders in general in the modern world political theory: divinization and diabolization. In the first case, they are spoken about solely as altruistically-oriented individuals who are motivated only by the interests of the party to which they completely subordinate their welfare. In the other case, they are seen as uncompromising careerists, hunters for profit who are inspired to political engagement only by a desire for power.

I believe that instead of these two extremes we must view political officials as people who, as a rule, try to perform their function in a satisfactory manner and who try, particularly when long-serving professional officials are involved who have no other profession or who have never carried it out, to retain their posts. Moreover, because a professional performance of political functions in many societies and in our society also yields above average material and symbolic compensation. In such a situation, a party official takes care primarily of those upon whom his election depends. In our case, in the performance of their functions, LCY leaders unavoidably take care about the interests and demands of their "electoral grassroots." This is particularly expressed when the

interests of their republic or province are not in accord with the interests of other republics or provinces or with Yugoslavia's interests. In such a situation, which, regrettably, is not only hypothetical, a professional official experiences a peculiar "conflict of loyalty" because he must respond to the contradictory demands of the circle that elects him and of the institution of which he is a member.

In view of the force with which the aspiration for reelection determines the conduct of a professional politician, it is easy to foresee the epilogue of such a conflict. It is not my intention to reduce all professional politicians to selfish and cool calculators whose activity is determined by nothing else but by the interest of his career, because thus I would overlook that among them (like among members of other professions) there are people of an exceptional moral dignity, prepared that at any time, while defending their intimate convictions, to sacrifice the privileges going with the leading positions. However, in this connection the question, nonetheless, arises whether the system of relations in an organization can be built on what represents an exception and not the rule?

You can reproach me for my cynical realism (I have already been reproached for this), or for my pessimistic anthropology, that is, my lack of confidence in a "good human nature." I will agree with you that the viewpoints that seek to explain human involvement in politics exclusively in a combination of ethically elevated motives sound much nicer and more humane, viewpoints that claim that this involvement is always done for the benefit of common good. Well, nicer and more human does not mean more true. Past history, and also the history of the socialist societies, warns that it is necessary more realistically to approach an analysis of real and not of ethically most acceptable organizers of man's involvement in social life. Without this a scientific analysis hopelessly floats on the surface and is incapable of explaining real political processes.

CSO: 2800/314

POLISH OFFICIAL ON SELF-MANAGEMENT IN POLAND

AU071527 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 6 May 84

[From the "Sunday at 10" program: Interview given by Polish Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski, chairman of the Polish Consultative Economic Council, to Belgrade Radio editor Jan Novakowski; recorded; Bobrowski in Polish with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation--in Poland, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Novakowski] The key problem in the struggle against the economic crisis undoubtedly is to increase the effectiveness of economic operations. The centralistic system had demonstrated a low effectiveness, and the lower this effectiveness, the greater society's pressure to ensure social control. The creation of such mechanisms also inside certain enterprises represents one of the basic means to ensure the society's cooperation, primarily that of the workers class. In Poland, there is more and more talk about self-management. Would you please tell us how self-management looks in daily practice in Poland?

[Bobrowski] I will answer you quite simply. When I visited Yugoslavia in 1954, that is, at the very beginning when the self-managing system was introduced, I asked: Well, but how does this look in practice? How great a part of the self-managing organ is useful and how large is that part which is not useful? I received answers ranging between 100 percent and zero, until I met a man whose name was Gligorov [Kiro Gligorov]. I greatly esteem him. He said to me: I do not know, but I do know one thing: that the percentage of the useful organs of self-management will increase every year. When they ask me in Poland how self-management is developing, I reply: I do not know, but I know that the percentage of the self-managing organs in which things are resolved sensibly is increasing every year.

[Novakowski] Nevertheless, do prospects exist? There already existed various things in Poland. There were self-managing organs, then they were suppressed, while now they are again discussed more loudly.

[Bobrowski] Yes, self-management organs existed in 1956, but they were later neutralized. When the so-called KSR, commissions of workers self-management, were formed in which the party and the trade unions played the leading role, self-managers remained in the minority. In those conditions self-management had died in most enterprises. Nonetheless, self-management has survived in certain enterprises to this day, and this is not exactly insignificant enterprises.

For this reason in 1981, when the question of renewing self-management arose, this question met with very different reactions, primarily in the workers class itself. The Solidarity trade unions then carried out an opinion poll in the coastal region, that is, in a region that is characterized by a specific political cross section, and it was demonstrated that only 50 percent of the workers were in favor of creating self-administration [samouprawa]. Therefore, the bitter experiences with the former self-managing organs have cut self-management's roots rather much.

[Novakowski] Was the other half against self-management, or did it have no view?

[Bobrowski] It was against.

[Novakowski] Mr Professor, does, nonetheless, a prospect exist? Do the party and the state authority, nonetheless, work toward something in this direction? Do they want to develop self-management, or is the situation the same as in 1956?

[Bobrowski] As far as I am concerned, I do not doubt that the high party and state leadership, as a whole, is working precisely in this direction. However, this does not at all mean that there are not those in the state leadership who are not favorably inclined toward self-management. However, as you know, and this is a fact in this country, in the end, General Jaruzelski's arbitration nonetheless decides. This is perhaps not a position that is similar to that of Tito in a certain period in Yugoslavia, but in the final analysis this is the only certain basis. Jaruzelski is in favor of developing self-management and, accordingly, the official line of the party and government is in favor of further developing and strengthening self-management.

[Novakowski] A law on self-management and the state enterprises exists in Poland. That is, the enterprises continue to be of a state character, except for the private enterprises, naturally. Can this state ownership of enterprises be reconciled with self-management?

[Bobrowski] I personally treat the problem of state ownership and social ownership as a semantic problem. This is a question that is of small interest for a pragmatist. However, it is very important to link self-management; or rather, central planning with the independence of enterprises. And, in this connection it can be said that the independence of enterprises is still far from our goal, that what is involved is a transitional situation. Frankly speaking, for the time being no one can envisage how the evolution will develop.

I would also like to say that in the concept of self-management there are sociopolitical elements, that the relationship of the administration of the political circle toward the self-managing organs was formed primarily on the basis of political positions and to a lesser extent according to the mood as regards the concept of self-management in the enterprise. At the current moment, self-managing organs, nonetheless, exist in most enterprises.

[Novakowski] The powers of the workers' self-management organs are concretely not very large at present.

[Bobrowski] I would not agree. The powers of self-management in enterprises are large, but self-management in Poland does not possess that ideological prevalence possessed in the Yugoslav system. Therefore, the practical opportunities of self-management emanate from the relationship of forces and the improvement of the system in practice.

Another problem must be mentioned here, and it very much complicates matters: The trade unions exist side by side. The more power goes to self-management, the less is left to the trade unions. There is even a conflict in our country between the trade unions and self-management. As regards the role of the party in this respect, it only inspires, both in your country and in ours. But the word "inspires" is so general that it can be used in various ways. I believe that a party body, regardless of which body, in our country has a much greater opportunity to interfere [mesanje] in self-management problems than in Yugoslavia, and this is yet to run smoothly.

[Novakowski] One could, therefore, conclude that this now is nevertheless the beginning of self-management in Poland.

[Bobrowski] No, it is not. It must be said, however, that the situation is not uniform. In some cases it may be said that it is a matter of beginnings, and in other cases the position of self-managers has been established. But I am stressing once again that there is no design to change over to the self-management system as a whole, and as an ideology.

[Novakowski] By looking and listening, I got the impression that self-management in Poland is [words indistinct], and it seems, as you, too, have mentioned, that there is no full harmony between self-management and the trade unions, between self-management and the officialdom that still has a great influence on decisionmaking.

[Bobrowski] This is obvious, particularly since at the very threshold of self-management, there has been no enthusiasm among the majority of workers.

[Novakowski] These were specific conditions, after Solidarity and after Martial law.

[Bobrowski] Precisely. Therefore, I say that opinions now on what will follow differ much. There is no full conviction in society about the significance and role of self-management, not even in the workers class. It would be simpler if it had a pronouncedly ideological foundation like in your country, for it is then said, let's grin and bear it. You had an additional fortunate circumstance--threats from abroad. People are united under such a circumstance, when there are threats from abroad.

As regards the officialdom, I differ in my opinion from the interpretations that are very popular in Poland, that the ill will of officialdom is an obstacle to self-management and reform in general. The characteristic of an official, strictly speaking, is that he is obedient. He may feel badly if an easy chair is changed for a hard chair, but he will give in after all.

[Novakovski] Under pressure.

[Bobrowski] Of course. This refers, however, to administration in a narrow sense of the word. As regards the managers, however, the problem is much more subtle. But they, too, are trying to find a way to cooperate with self-management organs.

[Novakovski] Professor, what is the vision of the new economic system after the reform, what is it to be like?

[Bobrowski] You know that slogan, three "S"--independence, self-management, and self-financing of enterprises [samostalnost, samoupravljanje, samofinanciranje preduzeća]. [passage omitted]

[Novakovski] It seems that the social situation exerts great influence on this state in Poland. One notices a certain apathy after the events of the past few years. This most probably also exerts its influence, perhaps not on the very direction of the development, but certainly on its pace.

[Bobrowski] Yes, this is true. There is a certain apathy. However, I would say that this influences not so much the pace of development, but the hopes. The hypothesis about what will be always plays a tremendous role in the views of people. There is little optimism about the future in our country.

[Novakovski] Professor, you wrote a book, "Socialist Yugoslavia," several years ago, I think in 1954. It was published first in French, in Paris, and only later in Poland. This means that you began to be interested in self-management under socialism a long time ago.

[Bobrowski] Since 1954.

[Novakovski] And your interest has not changed?

[Bobrowski] Perhaps to the extent that self-management now in my eyes is only an element and not a panacea. This means that my attitude toward self-management is as toward one of social instruments, and not ideological as toward the foundation of everything. [passage omitted]

[Novakovski] Another question: You said that Hungarian and Yugoslav experiences are taken into account in Poland as regards the economic reform.

[Bobrowski] Above all the Hungarian ones. These prevailed. But they have been applied in Poland with an essential difference, for the Hungarians did not introduce self-management, they did not introduce workers councils. [passage omitted quoting Warsaw POLITYKA and Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWI; issue date not given]

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SFRY JOURNAL ORGANIZES 'ROUNDTABLE' ON PLURALISM

LD092117 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 9 May 84

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)--In recent years, pluralism of self-managing interests has been the most frequently used term in our political practice and theory. Despite this, the objective foundation of various pluralisms in our society has not been researched. Under the guise of pluralism of self-managing interests, interests exist which have absolutely nothing in common with the fundamental interests of the working class. Ideological and political pluralism is often kept quiet about though it is evident. All this is the reason for the periodical SOCIJALIZAM organizing a roundtable discussion today on the pluralism of ideas, pluralism of self-managing interests and political pluralism.

All participants in today's debate agreed that only recognition of pluralism of interests represents an expression of democratization and a break with concepts that socialism is a conflict-free, monolithic society. Their successful resolution, that is, the domination of the general interest, is the prerequisite for the development of socialist self-managing social relations. It is a pity, as stated, that Kardelj's study "Directions of the Development..." [TANJUG ellipsis], has been more applauded rather than being the subject of a serious scientific analysis and foundation for further research.

Prvoslav Ralic believes that in resolving various interests alignment and compromise prevail which, as he said, is not far from "pseudo-agreement-reaching" by bourgeois parties. We have still not found a system for synthesizing interests through the logic of the revolution. Radoslav Rakovic proceeded from the thesis that the interest category is deduced from or rather dependent on basic social relations and that if one wants to avoid conflicts of interests there must be a more substantial influence on conditions which produce the interests. He recalled that in practice there are no pure self-managing interests and added that the working class too at times manifests aspirations to achieve some kind of privileged position.

Franc Cengle also believes that economic interests are being neglected and that interests are referred to only when political discussions and confrontations are at stake. Pluralism of ideas which our society both desires and needs is at times turned into ideological pluralism, that is, into a demand for a multiparty system. This will go on, said Dragomir Draskovic, until the invisible hands of

management are removed, "hands which as yet implement their measures," and until in the system of decisionmaking alternative solutions gain "respectability." A special role in this is played by the Socialist Alliance which, in his assessment, has no power today because it works through forums.

Advocating that a clear line be drawn between pluralism of ideas and ideological pluralism, Fuad Muhic believes that a considerable part of the blame for the present ideological confusion in society falls on the League of Communists itself. For, to the party ranks too it is not always clear whether what is involved are opposition forces or platforms with which one should embark on a dialogue. He believes that the public should know more about the pluralism of alternatives and that there is no need to mystify this sphere. We rarely ask our ideological opponents what their democracy would be like. In his assessment the majority of their concepts are marked by explicit authoritativeness.

The crucial issue of realizing self-managing interests is the attitude of the working class and its organization, above all of its avant-garde, because the working class is still not a direct subject which makes decisions on its own interests. We have overcome the transmission belt phase, Rados Smiljkovic said, but corporatism is worming its way through the back door. He underscored this with the assertion that the Socialist Alliance has not created conditions for all people to concern themselves with politics, not to mention those who have different ideological views.

Miloje Petrovic maintains that political pluralism has also in a certain way wormed its way into the League of Communists and that this is a subject which the party must discuss very soon. Not disputing the need for pluralism of ideas, he advocated even greater public confrontation of various ideas because in this way, he said, the League of Communists will settle accounts more easily with their exponents.

Political pluralism in Yugoslavia, Mirjana Malevska believes, amounts to agreements by sociopolitical organizations within the framework of the SAWPY, while it should in fact mean the right to views differing from official views. In Stipe Suvar's words, materials written by those who demand "democratic socialism" and by those who are against "anti-Stalinist Stalinism" should be made public. We cannot win the battle if the illusion is created about individuals not being able to present their theses publicly. This would also drive us, Suvar said, to introducing greater thinking order in the ideological chaos which is also penetrating the League of Communists.

Today's debate is only the beginning of throwing light on erroneous interpretations of ideas on self-managing pluralism and growing demands for various ideological and political interests being articulated in the form of political organizing through a multiparty system, and such like. All the participants in the debate will elaborate the subjects only briefly touched upon today, in materials which SOCIJALIZAM will publish in one of its forthcoming issues.

APPEAL FOR REHABILITATION OF 'TROTSKYITES' UNAPPRECIATED

[Editorial Report] Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian, in its regular bimonthly issue of 25 March 1984, pages 5-6, carries a lengthy, heavily-footed article by Rajko Djuric calling for the rehabilitation of prewar Yugoslav communists who suffered and were killed after being branded as Trotskyites. The article, headlines "A Debt to Truth," has landed its author in a good deal of trouble; Djuric has been suspended from his job at the POLITIKA publishing house and expelled from the LCY (Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 April 1984, page 6). The reasons for the commotion are not far from the surface of the article. Djuric has made the "innocent mistake" of quoting copiously from the writings in the 1930's of such Comintern confidants as J. Broz and E. Kardelj, in whom--surprisingly--there is no trace of premature "Titoist" anti-Stalinism. Broz in particular carries on about the need for merciless efforts against Yugoslav Trotskyites, whom he terms variously class enemies, agents of fascism, and faithful servants to Franco and Hitler. There are indications that Broz encountered a certain amount of misunderstanding and indifference as he attempted to stir up hatred among the members of Yugoslavia's minuscule communist party in relation to fellow-conspirators from the day before yesterday. "Many of our comrades ignore the whole business," he writes, "they smile and wave their hands." For waverers and the underperceptive, Broz provides a handy rule of thumb for identifying this worst of enemies: "You will often hear many concealed Trotskyites saying, 'I am not a Trotskyite, but neither am I a Stalinist,' You can be sure that somebody who talks like that is a Trotskyite." In the end, Djuric is so indelicate as to point out that the May 1939 issue of the Yugoslav party publication PROLETER contained both one of the harshest of Broz's harangues against Yugoslav Trotskyites and a list of recent expulsions from the Yugoslav party, including three former general secretaries, two youth secretaries, and numerous members of the Yugoslav central committee and politburo. This was basically a list of Yugoslav communists who had already been eliminated in the Soviet Union, but others had been active in the Spanish civil war from Paris or had been operating underground in Yugoslavia. The fate of some of the latter is unknown, but some of those remaining in Yugoslavia were executed as Trotskyites by partisan forces after guerrilla warfare began in 1941.

BRIEFS

NEW KNJIZEVNA KRITIKA EDITORS--Belgrade 3 May (TANJUG)--The new editor-in-chief and responsible editor, respectively, of the KNJIZEVNA KRITIKA (LITERARY CRITICISM) periodical are Radoslav Petkovic and Dragan Lakicevic. Petkovic, born 1953, has published a number of novels and essays on literary criticism, while Lakicevic, born 1956, is the author of a number of collections of poetry, critical works on modern Serbian poetry and studies on folk literature. [Summary] [LD040113 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 3 May 84]

TWO LC MEMBERS EXPELLED--Sibenik 8 May (TANJUG)--Due to being absent from sessions of the Municipal Committee of the LC of Croatia in Sibenik, the committee expelled two of its members this evening. They are Pasko Makelja, from the Boris Kidric Composite Organization of Associated Labor, and Vlatka Visnjic, from the Revija Work Organization for the Production and Sale of Clothing. The committee also appointed a comradely council which will establish and propose statutory measures for the two expelled members. [text] [LD090441 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 8 May 84]

EDITOR OF KNJIZEVNE NOVINE--Belgrade 8 May (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Serbian Writers' Association has decided that Milutin Petrovic be reappointed chief and responsible editor of the association's organ, KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. The presidium takes on the responsibility for the fuller realization of the adopted editorial concept of the paper and for comradely democratic cooperation by all social and working factors of the paper. In line with its powers, the presidium considers itself under obligation to implement the closest possible cooperation with the chief and responsible editor of the paper and with the paper as a whole in order to avoid conflict and critical situations which had directly threatened and called into question the publication of the paper, the statement of the presidium says. Milutin Petrovic was the chief and responsible editor of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE at the time when, due to the publication of some material assessed as unacceptable, a crisis of the paper arose. [Summary] [LD090441 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 8 May 84]

IMPRISONMENT FOR BUSINESS SECRETS--Nis 8 May (TANJUG)--The criminal council of the Nis District Court today sentenced Dr Jovan Gucic, 53, from Belgrade to 1-year imprisonment for having committed the criminal act of giving away and unauthorized gathering of business secrets according to Article 141, Paragraph 2, in connection with Paragraph 1 of the Serbian Criminal Code. The trial established that Gucic, as leading development technologist at the semi-conductor section of the electronic industry in Nis, had gathered particularly confidential

information on production, financial participation and realization between February and 16 November 1983 when he was arrested. He intended to sell the information to an unknown person. Confidential documents representing a business secret were found during the search of his apartment in Nis. [Summary] [LD100024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 8 May 84]

TRIAL IN PIROT--Pilot 8 May (TANJUG)--The trial of Vladimir Lazarevic, Slobodan Dankovic and Novica Krstic, who had through concluding a harmful contract with a West German firm inflicted a damage to the Tigar Enterprise of 420 million dinars or DM 9 million started in Pirot today. In concluding the contract with the West German firm giving it the right of distribution and sale of rubber tires in Scandinavia, Ireland, Spain, France and the Benelux countries, they had agreed to payment by the firm by bills of exchange without bank cover. At the beginning of 1983, the West German firm asked for a number of bills to be extended. By October 1983, 21 bills were extended. This was a certain sign of the firm experiencing a serious financial crisis. The accused took no steps to change the contract or the method of payment or to take measures as creditors and stop the deliveries of tires. With the bankruptcy of the German firm, the Tigar enterprise lost DM 9 million. The trial is expected to last 4 days. A dozen or so witnesses will be heard. [Summary] [LD100024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 8 May 84]

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